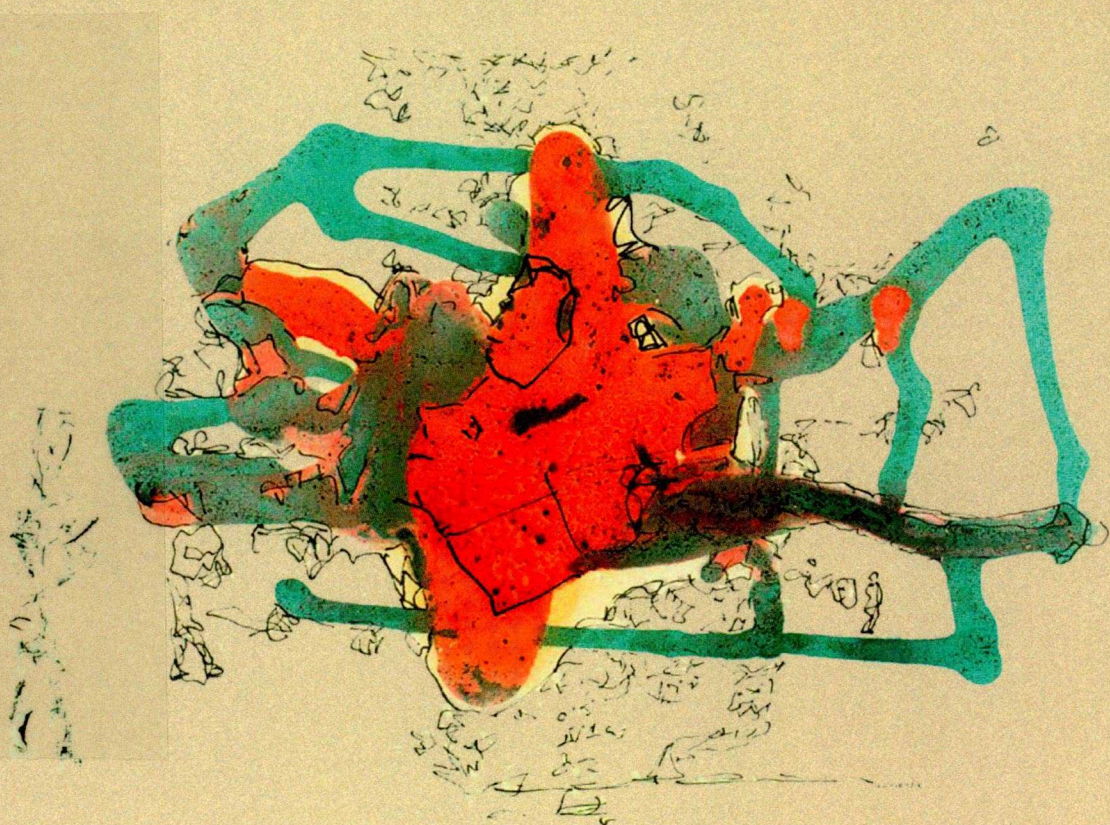


# ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLASES REGIONS, BORDERS, INTERFERENCES



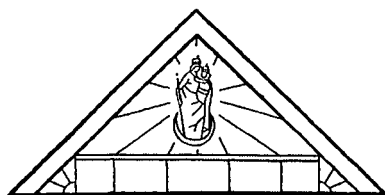
Edited by:

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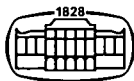
DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLASES  
REGIONS, BORDERS, INTERFERENCES

# ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLASES REGIONS, BORDERS, INTERFERENCES

Edited by:

GÁBOR BARNA



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST



SZTE Klebelsberg Könyvtár  
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# ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLASES REGIONS, BORDERS, INTERFERENCES

16<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SIEF's  
International Ethnoscrtography Network  
2010

The International Ethnoscrtography Network monitored this activity in the form of conferences only up to the year 2000 (1990: Stará Lesná, Slovakia; 1993: Bad Honnef, Germany; 1996: Třešť, Czech Republic; 1998: Cieszyn, Poland; 2000: Komarno, Slovakia). For this reason, the Section entitled "Work on Ethnological Atlases in Europe" of the 16<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SIEF's International Ethnoscrtography Network has set the objective to evaluate the results of the period of almost ten years since then and to assess the future potential of ethnoscrtography. The SIEF's International Ethnoscrtography Network has existed under this name only since 1990, scientists interested in the preparation of ethnographic atlases have organised thematic conferences regularly since the blueprint Linz conference in 1958 (1966: Zagreb, 1968: Bonn, 1970: Helsinki, 1972: Stockholm, 1974: Budapest–Visegrád, 1976: St. Pölten, 1978: Eniskillen Northern Ireland). The birth of it was in connection with the effort in ethnoscrtography in Europe. The flourishing period of ethnoscrtography was the 1960s and 1970s. After former examples in Germany, Austria etc. ethnographical atlases were launched and started in different European countries. The representatives of this undertaking formed out the plan of the European Ethnographic Atlas. The main representative of this atlas was the great generation of the European ethnology: Mathias Zender, Alexander Fenton, Jenő Barabás, Branimir Bratanić, Milovan Gavazzi, Béla Gunda, later Heinrich Cox, Jozef Vařeka and others.

The result is known: neither the national atlases in every country, nor the European atlas were finished. At least the working group which organized many symposia during the decades has been dissolved.

Nevertheless, one result can be mentioned. As a consequence of these efforts arose the working group, the International Ethnoscrtography network in the frame of the SIEF. I have been member of this network only since the 1990s. So I was participant only in the last events, conferences. In 1997 Josef Vařeka hosted a conference under the title

“European Cultural Area – Unity in Diversity”. In 2000 there was a meeting in Komárom/Komárno, Slovakia, then in 2004 in the frame of the SIEF-Congress in Marseille, then again in 2008 in connection with the SIEF-Congress in Derry Northern-Ireland. The 16<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SIEF’s International Ethnogeography Network in 2010 was organized by the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged.

To tell the truth it is not the most active working group of the SIEF. If I interpret the process correctly, it is because of the deep changes in theory and viewpoint of the last decades. The ethnographic atlases have lost their former great importance. The focus of interest has been shifted from the traditional peasant culture, or from the spatial partition, features of peasant culture to other problems in connection with the society, culture and space, to use and importance of maps, mental maps, virtual places, or non-places, all in general to all problems in connection with place and space.

I don’t think that the importance of the traditional ethnographic atlases has totally disappeared. We have to use the great amount of knowledge accumulated in the atlas-collections. But we have to find out the appropriate and modern way of analysis. The digitalized world offers new approaches – parallel with the horizontal analysis vertical, structural ones, which help to interpret the cultural phenomena more in their contextual connections. Perhaps the papers of the conference bring some new ideas in this field. On the other hand we see that there are efforts in different countries (e.g. in Czech Republic, Romania) to make or finish their ethnographic atlas.

The second part of papers given at the conference show different approaches. Mental borders, historical regions and regions divided by borders (Silesia, Galicia, the entire Carpathian Basin, etc.), new and old identities. What is the connection between global and local? Are regions representations of the local/regional? What kind of spaces and places does our postmodern age know?

Gábor BARNA



# THE DIGITALIZED VERSION OF THE ATLAS OF HUNGARIAN FOLK CULTURE

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**Abstract:** One of the main aims of European ethnology in the second half of the 20th century was to create the ethnographical atlases of various nations in Europe. The basic purpose of the cartographical elaboration of the regional variants of certain cultural elements of the given nation in a certain system and that of collecting them into atlases was to create a database on which investigations could be carried out to define the territorial structure of the given folk culture. The easiest way to define this territorial pattern is the computer elaboration of the database, which means the digitalization and the cluster analysis of the data made by computer. On the methods and on the possibilities of the computer elaboration of the Atlas of Hungarian Folk Culture (AHFC) a paper was held by the author at the 11<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SIEF's International European Network (Workgroup) on Ethnocartography in Poland (Borsos 2000). At the 12<sup>th</sup> conference in Slovakia the author talked about the first results of the cluster-analysis (Borsos 2000/2001).

In the last decade the computer programs for the digital version of the AHFC have been developed and the digital version has been extended with supplementary maps as well. As in the digital version we can find not simply scanned pictures of the original sheets but the basic structure of the atlas (base-map, collecting points) is also available, it is not only possible but fairly easy to add new (virtual) sheets to the atlas. So the Atlas has been supplemented with maps elaborating some of the statistical data (demographic and agricultural) of the period between 1900–1910, which is the time interval represented by the cultural data of the atlas. This virtual 10<sup>th</sup> volume of the atlas contains 'sheets' about important information on the cultural picture of the settlements shown and of their cultural environment. The new volume can also help to draw a more accurate map about cultural regions. Another type of supplementary maps can be seen in the virtual 11<sup>th</sup> volume showing the regional distribution of the territory inhabited by Hungarians regarding cultural and non-cultural aspects. The last section of the distributional maps shows the regional structure of the Hungarian folk culture based on the computer elaborated data of the first 9 volumes, as well as the synthetic regional structure based on the comparison of the computer-drawn picture with three other sources: the statistical investigations of the database, the maps of the two virtual volumes and the scientific literature.

**Keywords:** ethnographic atlas, Hungarian folk culture, digitalization

*The digitalization of the Atlas of Hungarian Folk Culture*

At the very beginning of the computer elaboration of the Atlas of Hungarian Folk Culture we had to face the problem that in this case the usefulness of the most commonly used database creator and database analyzing programs is fairly limited.<sup>1</sup> These programs need data that fit into their given mathematical structure, while the data of the AHFC are not of that kind. In the 1950s while the definition of the basic structure of the AHFC and what cultural data were needed got outlined, the computer elaboration of the atlas was not considered to be a real option. The method of the cartographic elaboration and the structure of the body of data of the atlas are sometimes inconsistent, so we need special types of computer programs for the digitalization as well as for the investigation of the digitalized database.

These programs were written by computer expert Gábor L. Breiner and he has been continuously developing them as occasionally new problems appear in the analysis of the database. For digitalizing the maps we used the program EthnoMap. Although there had been evidences that not all the maps were suitable for a later computer analysis, we decided to digitalize all the maps and all data of the maps. This way we created the digitalized version of the AHFC, which is easier to handle and with some parts of the program the data of the atlas can be ordered in different ways.

**Tulajdonságtípusok**

Településszerkezet 1900 körül 1/634 < > Bovítás Törlés

Térképlap neve: Településszerkezet 1900 körül

száma: 1 Hivatkozott lap: 0 Érték a hivatkozott lapon: 0

Alk. terület: Településkép

Kötet: 1 Szerzo: Barabás Jenő

Típusok: 5-zárt mag nincs, csak tanyák vagy szórványok vannak Szerkesztés

Típusok száma: 11

File neve:

Rendben Mégsem

<sup>1</sup> See more in PÁVAI 1996.

So there was a database defined for 417 objects (settlements) and 634 variables (maps). The co-ordinates and names of the settlements were fixed and to digitalize the different variants of the cultural phenomena, the different values of every single variable were defined. The minimal number of the values was 2<sup>2</sup>, the maximum was 56<sup>3</sup>. To each value (it means to each variant of a certain cultural phenomenon) a numerical value was connected. The program has been written so that the number of the objects can be multiplied, as in many cases at some settlements two or more variants of a certain cultural phenomenon may occur. Consequently, the database contains around 400.000 places. It took nearly three years to fill the data-base and to control the correctness of its values.<sup>4</sup>

The second step of the analysis was to write a program which is able to run some statistical analysis and a cluster analysis on the data. This program was called MapCA, which the first results of the investigation of the database were produced and presented by. The presentation of the results was not yet geographically correct, as the settlements were ordered only in the frame of the coordination net, and their symbols were characters of written texts.

A big jump in the development of the digitalization process was the writing of EthnoMap Tools (EmTools) program, which integrated the digitalizing and analyzing parts of the computer elaboration. It made both creating new maps in the structure of the atlas easier and the presentation of the data more visual and geographically correct. So the base-map of the digitalized version became the base-map of the original atlas, which is a blind map with the main rivers, lakes and today's political boundaries of the Hungarian speaking territory.<sup>5</sup> The values of the variants are presented on the map with various graphic symbols, and by pointing at the symbol with the cursor the textual description of the given value appears in a small window down right.

To increase the correctness of the geographical allocation of the settlements, each co-ordination square was segmented into 100 times 100 small squares, so the allocation of the settlements was defined theoretically within 200 meters of the real place. To correct the contradiction between the axonometric co-ordinates and the cartographically distorted river- and border-line structure the position of some settlements had to be connected to the geographical features. So the co-ordinate of some settlements (especially in the eastern part of the territory) is not the same as it was in the original atlas. But as by pointing the cursor on the settlement its name appears in a window at the bottom left, this change does not influence the use of the digital version.

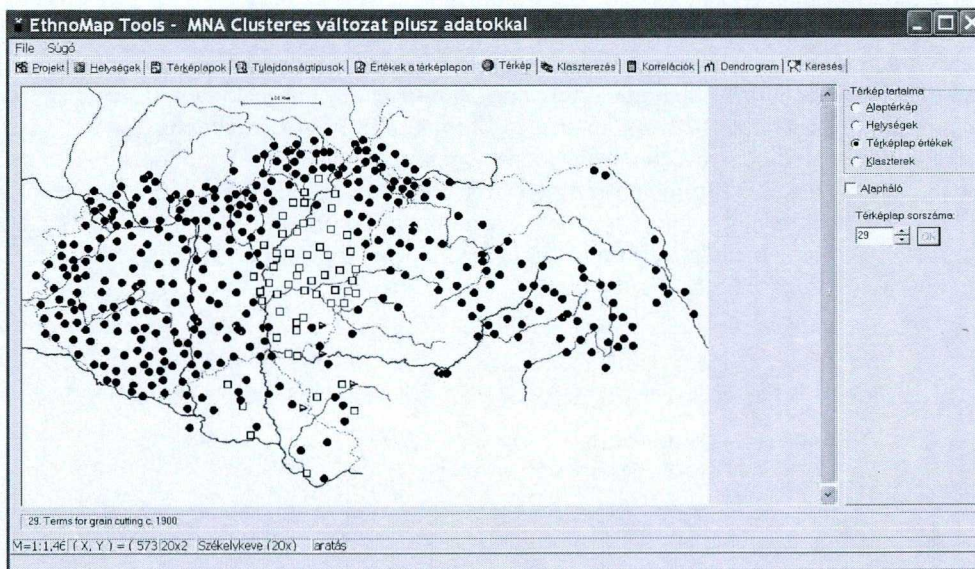
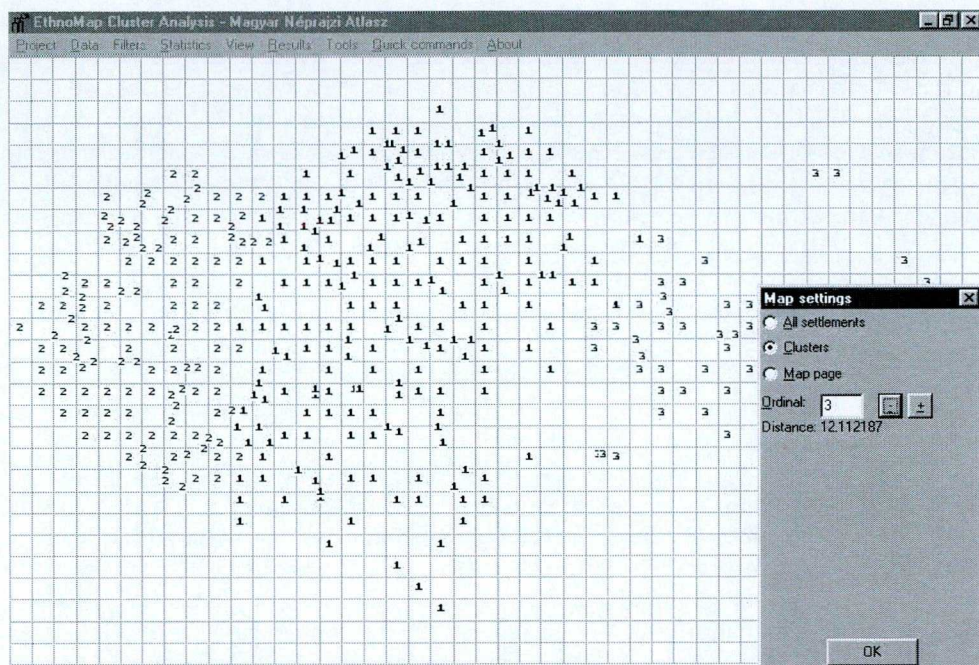
<sup>2</sup> E. g. map Nr 85: The meaning of *szuszék* (wooden container) in the first half the 20th century, or Nr 580: Prophecy of the falling star.

<sup>3</sup> Map Nr 484: Leading female first names (1900–1910).

<sup>4</sup> This continuous check had to be carried out thoroughly, as it was very easy to make a mistake during digitalization because the background and the frame of reference of the maps were printed too dim and in many cases the print of the signs symbolizing a certain value of a variable was not correctly drawn to their places so there was some uncertainty about which sign belonged to which co-ordinate. Although it was advised during the elaboration of the Atlas to use symbols of very different characters, in some maps the signs were far too similar and so subject to confusion.

<sup>5</sup> To have a one-by-one version of the original map, the new borders between Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia are not drawn up. This was possible as along the border between Croatia and Slovenia are no Hungarian speaking settlements and because the border between Serbia and Croatia is mainly marked by the River Danube.







*The possible extension of the AHFC*

As we mentioned above after digitalization of the data of the AHFC it became fairly easy to add new maps to the existing 634 ones. The main aim of the editing work of the atlas was to define the regional distribution of the Hungarian folk culture. This definition becomes more and more accurate if we take into the investigation as many aspects of the folk culture as possible. Regarding all these, it seems obvious that the supplementary maps should deal with the aspects of the Hungarian folk culture that are underrepresented or not at all present in the existing sheets.

The most complex structure of the different aspects of folk cultures was elaborated by the working group of George Peter Murdock (Human Relations Area Files). But as this structure was created for global purposes, it fits mainly to the culture of non-complex societies. As the Hungarian folk culture has developed in the last centuries in the frame of a complex society, it seems advisable to apply another structure elaborated for European societies, which is represented in the structure of the handbook *Hungarian Ethnography* (Paládi-Kovács 1988–). The handbook discusses Hungarian folk culture using 26 aspects. The 634 sheets of the AHFC represent 17 of these aspects (Agriculture; Animal Husbandry; Transport and Traffic; Home Industry; Settlements; Building; Homes; Living Routines; Food and Drinks; Clothing and Adornment; Lyrics; Music; Customs; Folk Beliefs; Magic and Healing; Society – Social Strata, Kinship and Family; Life Cycles), so to increase the usefulness of the atlas for defining the regional distribution of the Hungarian folk culture we should create maps that deal with the 9 aspects not represented in the atlas (Gathering, Hunting, Fishing; Commerce, Marketing; Epics; Drama (text); Dance; Games; Ethnoscience; Religion; Decorative Arts). But there is a problem of collecting adequate data. In the collecting period of the atlas-project (1950–1960s) it was possible to use ethnographic methods (questionnaire) to record data of folk culture around 1900–1910. This work cannot be carried on as half a century has passed since the time of the collecting, not to mention the impossibility of organizing such a huge project among today's scientific and financial circumstances. Theoretically, the opportunity of supplementing the atlas with data of folk music and folk dance exists, as there is a huge amount of data of these aspects in the archives of the Institute of Musicology, and the collecting points of them overlap with about 80% of the collecting points of the atlas. Unfortunately this work has not yet got priority by authorities that distribute scientific resources.

So the AHFC can be supplied with map sheets of two different kinds, which also helps to fulfil the aim of the atlas, namely to draw the regional structure of Hungarian folk culture. The first type of group contains maps that show the demographical and agricultural situation of the Hungarian speaking territory around 1900–1910, the data for which can be taken from statistical surveys of this period. In the second type of maps we can draw the regional patterns of the different aspects of the Hungarian folk culture based on the ethnographical literature. Whether we can create them at all and in what depth, depends on the character of the given aspect and on the results of the work done by ethnographic research from this certain aspect. We must emphasize here and now that there are very few of the above mentioned 26 aspects where a regional pattern was elaborated.

The most important of the supplementary maps are the ones which show regional distribution of the Hungarian folk culture defined by previous research. These are accom-

panied by maps showing the regional structure defined by geography and by dialectology. In the last section there are maps defined by the computer-elaboration of the atlas and some others which show the synthesis of previous research and computer elaboration.

The statistical maps are ordered into a virtual 10<sup>th</sup> volume, and the distributional maps can be found in a virtual 11<sup>th</sup> volume. To emphasize the difference among the printed and virtual volumes, the numbering is not continuous. The 9<sup>th</sup> printed volume ends with map 634, the 10<sup>th</sup> virtual volume begins with map 701, the 11<sup>th</sup> starts with map 801. Because of the digitalized structure the atlas can be supplied with new maps any time.

### *The virtual 10<sup>th</sup> volume of the AHFC*

As most sheets of the AHFC show cultural data dated around 1900, it seems obvious that the demographical data of the census of 1900 should be mapped in the 10<sup>th</sup> volume. Nevertheless, it is worth adding the demographical data of the census of 1910 to it as well, as this year is the reference-time of the regional defining of all Hungarian ethnographical data. In the same year an agricultural survey was made as well (more correctly the authorities made the data of the great survey of 1875–1885 up-to-date), so we can use the data of this particular survey to present them in the 10<sup>th</sup> volume. As there was no agricultural survey in the year of 1900, we can use the agricultural census of 1895 instead in parallel with the demographical census of 1900, although the former one was far less thorough than the survey of 1910. In today's Romania there are 10 settlements among the collecting points of the AHFC that were not (and never had been) part of the Hungarian Kingdom. As they were not subject to the census in Hungary, their statistical data can only sporadically be found in the 10<sup>th</sup> volume, where information could be obtained from other sources.<sup>6</sup>

The editors of the AHFC tried to define the collecting points so that they should represent the culture of their neighbourhood as well. This expectation is easier to fulfil with qualitative and textual data than with quantitative ones. To project the statistical data of a certain settlement to its environment can be sometimes misleading. e.g. a Hungarian village surrounded by settlements of other nationalities can not represent them. To eliminate this problem (or at least to make it clearly visible) another type of map should be presented beside the ones that show the data of the 417 settlements. These are special maps that show the data of the wider neighbourhood. Their data are connected to the collecting points in the same way, but in fact they are the data of the wider neighbourhood, namely of the districts of the given counties. So in the 10<sup>th</sup> volume all demographical data are presented in two different time sections (1900, 1910) and at two different regional levels (settlement, district). The agricultural data can not be presented in such a logical structure. On one hand, the data collected in 1895 and in 1910 are not the same (e.g. there are no data about the net income in 1895). On the other hand, in the census of 1895 the settlements were ordered into the frame of the administrative districts, while in the survey of 1910 they were grouped within the frame of the so called "estimating districts" (in which the survey-makers tried to unite the settlements of a certain area where the value

<sup>6</sup> LAHOVARI 1898, Dicționarul statistic 1914–1915, MANIULĂ 1938. I am grateful to Tünde TURAI and Sándor ILLYÉS for the examination of these sources.

of land was roughly the same). Anyhow, the maps showing the agricultural data are also presented in two time sections (1895, 1910) and at two regional levels (settlement, district/estimating district).

There was another small problem to be solved before making the maps about the demographical and agro-statistical data. The administrative status of some of the settlements which were defined as collecting points in the 1950s used to be different in 1895. There were 15 villages that used to mean 30 separate ones in 1895 and 4 settlements that did not exist as a separate administrative unit then. So in the first case the data in the AHFC were calculated as the average of the two independent villages, while in the second case mainly the data of the “mother village” were presented.

The first four maps of the 10<sup>th</sup> volume are administrative maps which help to interpret the data of the statistical maps. One sheet shows which collecting point belongs to which county. There are two sheets about the districts in 1900 and in 1910, and one about the “estimating districts” in 1910. There are three types of maps showing the nationalities and the denomination (all of them in two different time-sections and at two different regional levels as mentioned above). The most detailed maps show the percentage of the given nationalities (besides Hungarian they are: Croatian, German, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovakian, Sokatian–Bunievatian) and denominations/religion (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian, Israelite). Less detailed maps deal with the questions which nationality/denomination is in exclusive majority, or absolute or relative majority in the given settlement/district. The third type of maps deal with the dominant nationality/denomination. The next 8 maps are about the number of the inhabitants of the given settlement, and the average number of the inhabitants of the villages in the given district. On four maps (1900, 1910, settlement, district) there are only 3 categories (below 1000 people, between 1000 and 3000, above 3000) while on the other four the categories are defined more in detail (<500, 500–1000, 1000–2000, 2000–3000, 3000–10 000, 10 000<, town). One map shows the average size of the territory of the settlements of the given districts, and four presents the density of the population of the settlement (1900, 1910) and that of the district (1900, 1910). The first group of agricultural statistical maps deals with the percentage of the land used by the different branches of agriculture (plough-land, orchard, meadow, vine-yard, pasture, woods, reeds, waste-land). These data are presented in the two given time sections (1895, 1910) and at the two regional levels (settlement, /estimating/ district). Another bunch of sheets are about the net-income of the different branches of agriculture (only from 1910 but also at two different regional levels). The last group of this type of maps shows the average size of estates projected on the plough-land and on the whole territory as well. The definition of the categories of the agricultural statistical maps relies on the principles of not using more than 6–8 categories, and that each category should contain around the same number of settlements plus that each of them should have the same size.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> MAGYAR 1902, 1912, ZENTAI 2001, MAGYAR 1897, MM 1913–1914, For other details see Borsos 2008, especially the published statistical maps: 208–229.



*The sheets of the 11<sup>th</sup> volume about the regional distribution of cultural and non cultural aspects*

The first three sheets present the ethnographical distribution of the Hungarian folk culture at three different levels of details. They are based on previous research, mainly following the structure of the book of László Kósa (1998), the most recent summarizing monograph about this topic.<sup>8</sup> Though the borderlines between the different territorial units are sometimes subjects of scientific discussions, we tried to find the most accepted version. It was not very difficult to settle the 5 great and the 90 small territorial units (although some of our decisions could be criticized). However, the research of middle-size regions is not as developed as the investigation of the other two levels. So here we defined the 26 regions showed on map 802 following the point of view of László Kósa's book: the development of the peasantry into middle-class status. The naming of the territorial units followed the ethnographic research, or in case of lack of widely accepted ones, we used geographical names.

The geographical distribution of the territory of today's Hungary defines 6 great, 33 middle-size and 230 small territorial units.<sup>9</sup> Recent investigations (Hajdú-Moharos – Hevesi 1997) extend the defining process of geographic units to the whole Carpathian Basin. During this process the authors tried to take into consideration the work done by the experts of the neighboring countries as well as the viewpoints of history and ethnography.<sup>10</sup> As the AHFC shows the whole Hungarian speaking territory, we necessarily have to use their structure, even if it lacks a general acceptance.<sup>11</sup> The sheets about the geographical distribution of the Hungarian speaking territory present the data at two levels of differentiation: they show 12 great and 77 middle-size units. The presentation of the small units seemed unnecessary as their number is far more than the number of the collecting points.

Adding a few dialectological maps to the 11<sup>th</sup> volume has special importance as 180 sheets of the original 634 sheets of the AHFC deal with linguistic phenomena. The sheets 806–807 show the dialectical distribution of the Hungarian speaking territory at two levels of differentiation. Map 806 shows 10 dialectological regions, 11 transitional zones, the newly inhabited and the isolated settlements. On map 807 the regions are divided into dialectological groups, the isolated settlements are defined, and the other types (transitional zones, newly inhabited settlements) are also presented. Drawing these two maps we used the dialectical map of Dezső Juhász published in 2001. Juhász based his work on the six-volume Hungarian Dialectological Atlas (Deme – Imre 1968–77) but he also realized that elaborating the data of the Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects in Romania (Murádin – Juhász 1995–2010) may cause some changes in the dialectological distribution.<sup>12</sup> We have to mention that the Hungarian Dialectological Atlas shows the data of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century but

<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank László Kósa for his time and help in the construction of these sheets.

<sup>9</sup> MAROSI – SOMOGY 1991: 18.

<sup>10</sup> See HAJDÚ-MOHAROS 1996: 255–256.

<sup>11</sup> HEVESI 2003: 254. In fact we used HAJDÚ-MOHAROS 2000 because of the detailed maps presented in his volume.

<sup>12</sup> I would like to thank Dezső JUHÁSZ for his work and help during the creation of the dialectical maps of the AHFC.



considering the observation of dialectology about the widening of transitional zones in the course of time,<sup>13</sup> Juhász' dialectological distribution can be put into parallel with the ethnographic and cultural ones.

The next section of the 11<sup>th</sup> volume presents maps that deal with the regional distribution defined by various aspects of Hungarian folk culture. Ethnographical research had defined smaller territorial units than the great regions only in 3–4 aspects of the above mentioned 26: Building, Dance, Music (and based on it Customs). Still we can fit some additional maps into the atlas that show the regional distribution of some important factors of the other cultural aspects.

Building construction is one of the few cultural aspects in which defining territorial units was for a long time a focal point of research. In the atlas two distributional patterns are presented on altogether 5 sheets, the system of Imre Harkai (1995) is based on the maps of the AHFC, while Jenő Barabás (Barabás – Gilyén 1987) based his work on the summarizing and refining of the previous research (mainly Zsigmond Bátty 1930, s.a.). However, Barabás also used the data of the AHFC (he was its editor in chief). So in the 11<sup>th</sup> volume three maps (810–812) show Harkai's system at three levels of differentiation, while two maps (813–814) present the regional structure elaborated by Barabás (the first one is a simplified version where transitional zones are divided along an imaginary line in their middle so that each of the two stripes belongs to one of the main territorial units).

Three maps (815–817) show the distribution of market places (at county level, as we do not have more detailed research) based on the work of Gyula Prinz and Pál Teleki (s.a.). Map 818 presents the territorial types of hemp processing based on the research of Lajos Szolnok (1972), while map 819 shows the regional distribution of pottery making. The construction of this map was based on the research of Mária Kresz<sup>14</sup> but was extended and refined for this project by István Csopor. György Domanovszky (1981) defined regions where the various fields of ornamental art were highly elaborated. Map 821 is based on his work.

The large territorial units of Hungarian folk music were defined by Béla Bartók (1924), his distribution is showed on map 822. Defining the smaller units (they are called 'dialects' in research) is still discussed among music scientists. The structure elaborated by Lajos Vargyas (1990) is presented on map 823, while a fairly different one (elaborated by the editors of the *Anthology of Hungarian Folk Music* /1985–2004/) is presented on map 824. If we base our definition on the new style of Hungarian folk music, a very fragmented territorial distribution can be outlined (map 825 defined for this project by János Berecki). The research of calendar customs (Tátrai 2002) follows Lajos Vargyas' system with some refinements (map 820).

The large territorial units of Hungarian folk dance was defined by György Martin (1970–72, 1990), his distribution is showed on map 826. He also defined middle-size units, which are presented on map 827, while the structure of the small ones was elaborated by László Felföldi and István Németh directly for this project based on the archive of the Institute of Musicology (map 828).

<sup>13</sup> JUHÁSZ 2001: 266.

<sup>14</sup> KRESZ 1991: 528–529.

The last section of volume 11 shows the maps about the regional structure of Hungarian folk culture based on the cluster analysis of the data of the first 9 volumes. Map 831 shows the 5 large cultural regions, the 18 middle-size ones can be seen on map 832, while map 833 presents the 77 small cultural regions as defined by the computer. The last four maps present a synthesis based on the comparison of four different sources: the cluster analysis, the statistical elaboration of the data of the AHFC, the maps of volumes 10–11, and the observations of previous research. The maps of this last section present the same 5 large (map 834) and 18 middle-size regions (map 835), as the maps drawn by the computer, although the borderlines sometimes run differently. Map 836 is about the small cultural regions, it presents 103 units instead of 77. After the investigations mentioned above it seemed to be necessary to define some micro-regions within some small regions because of their highly specific characteristics. So on map 837 we defined 31 micro-regions as well as the 103 small cultural regions.

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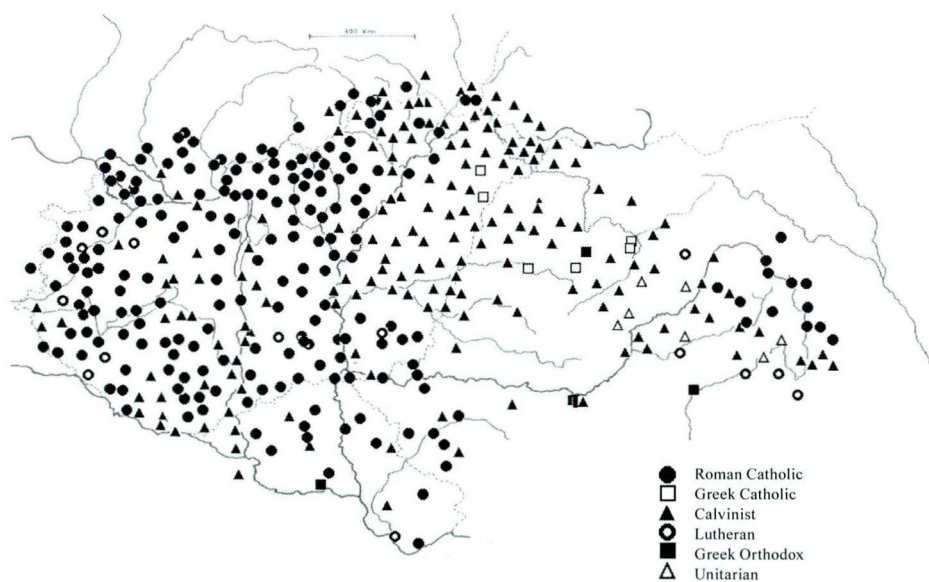
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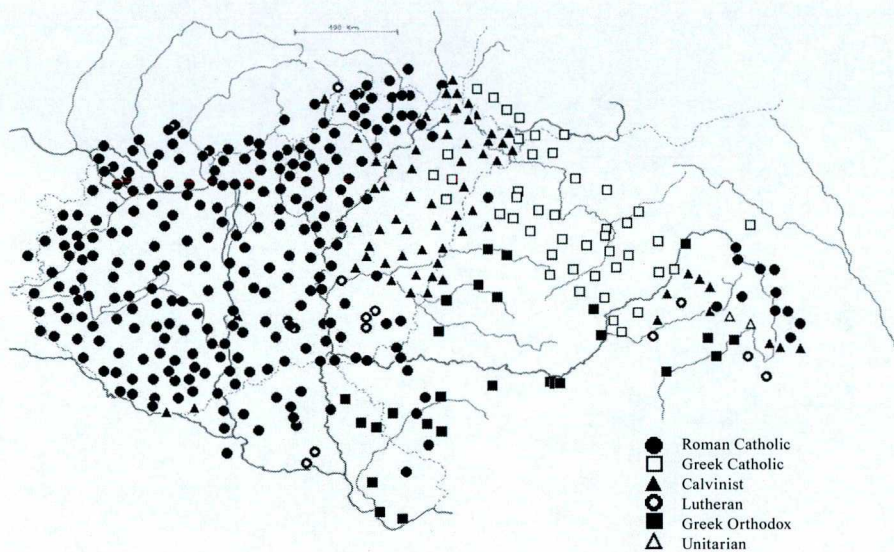
716. Dominant nationality in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1910



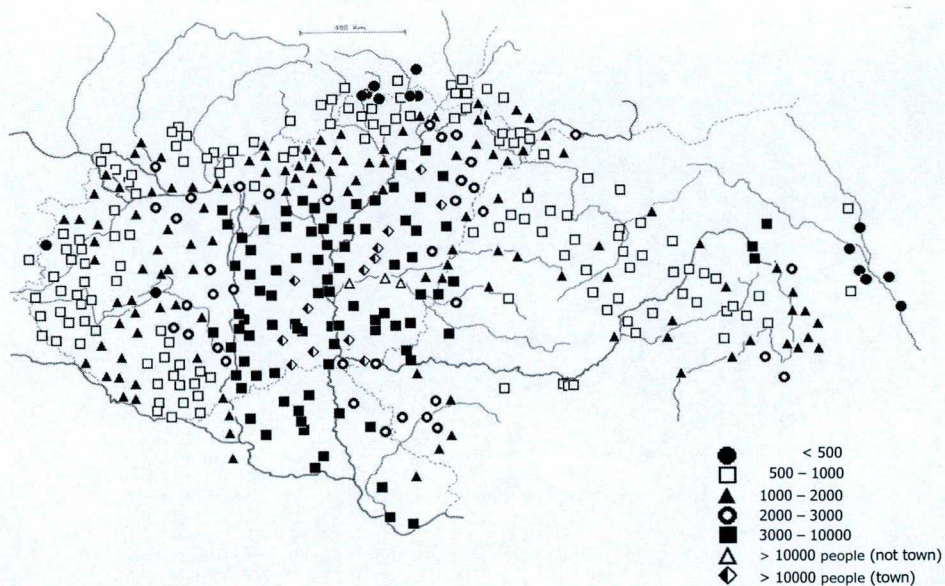
721. Dominant denominations – 1900



722. Dominant denominations in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1900



736. The average number of inhabitants of the settlements in the district that contains the given collecting point – 7 categories – 1910



739. The density of the population in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1900 (People / km<sup>2</sup>)

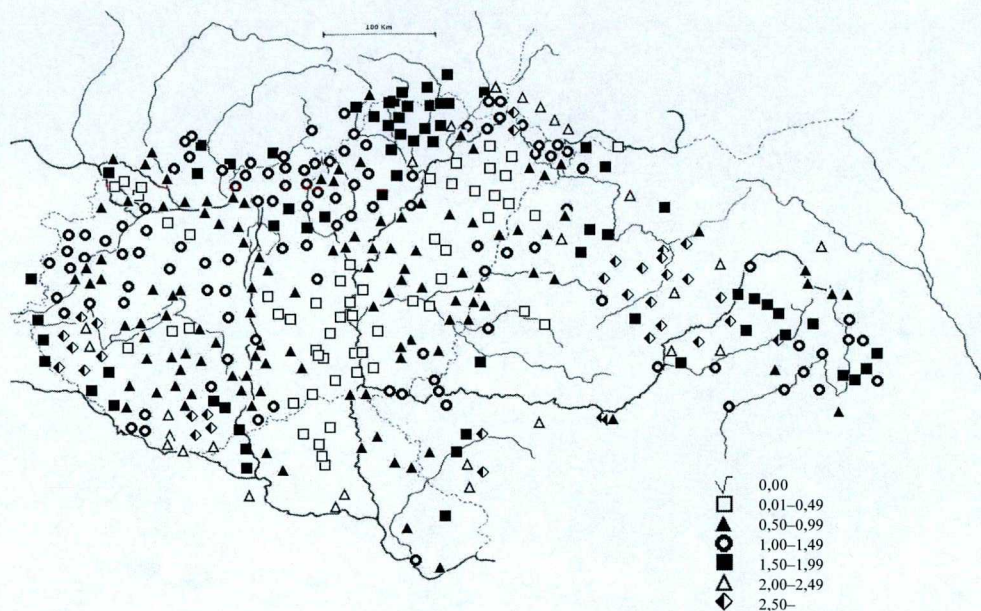


745. The percentage of plough-land in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (%)

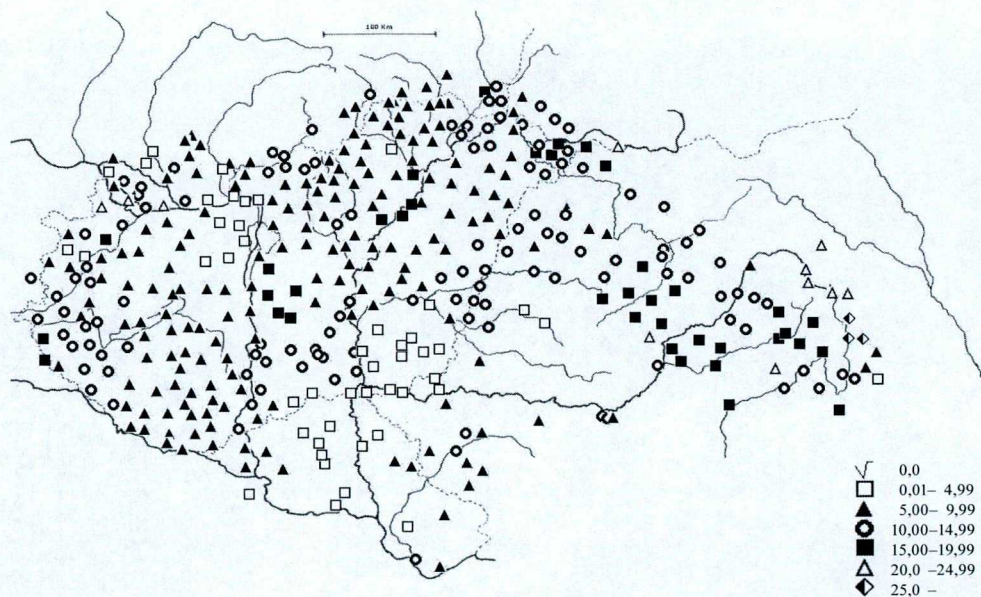




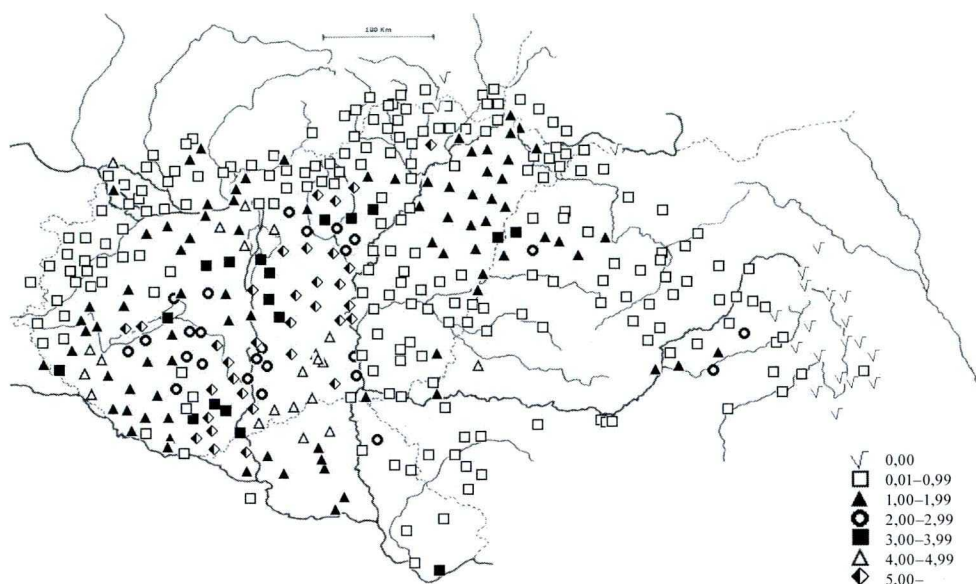
747. The percentage of orchards in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1895 (%)



751. The percentage of meadow in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1895 (%)



759. The percentage of vine-yards in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (%)

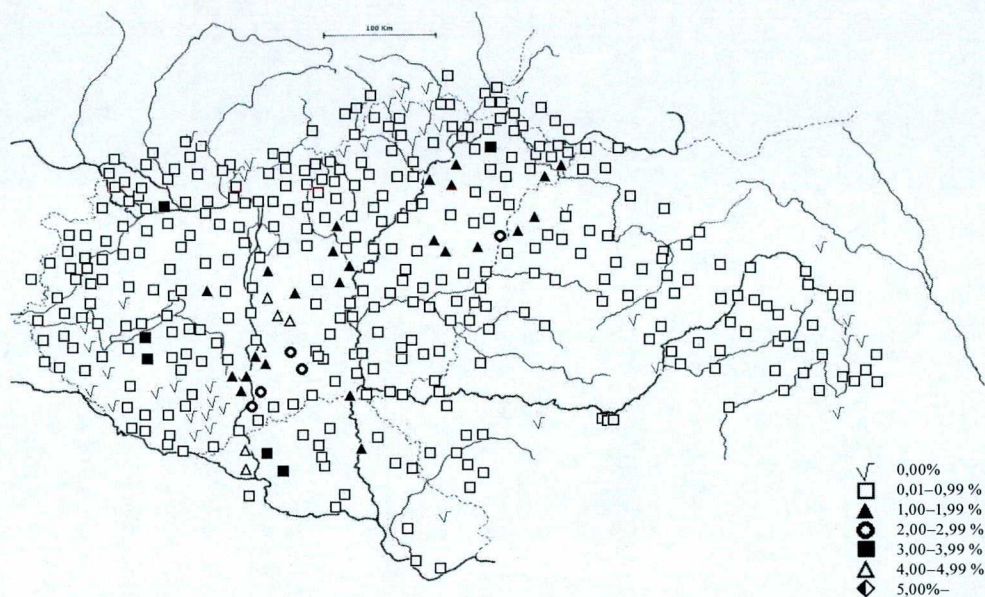


763. The percentage of pasture in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (%)

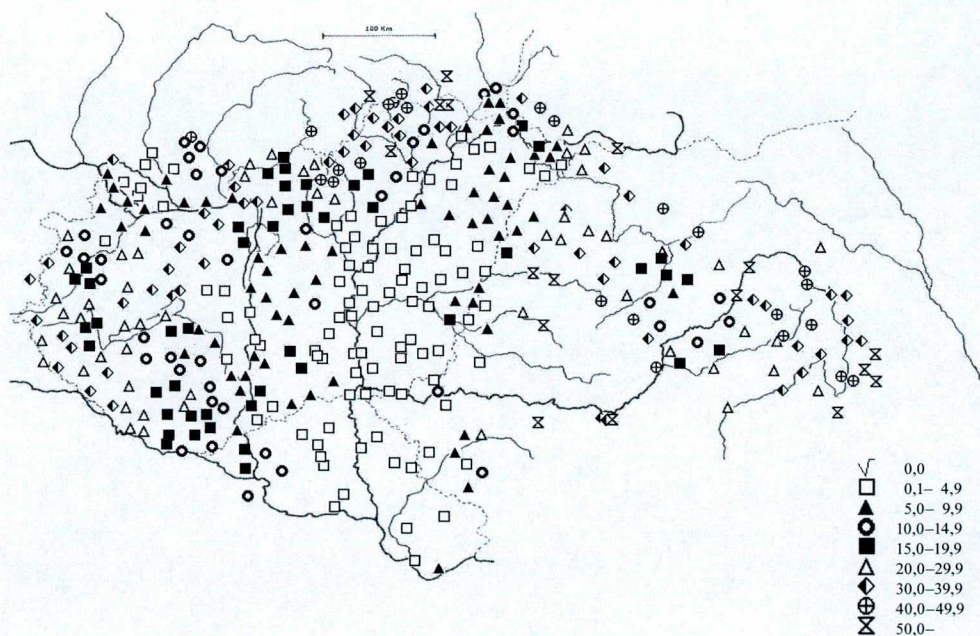




765. The percentage of reeds in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1895



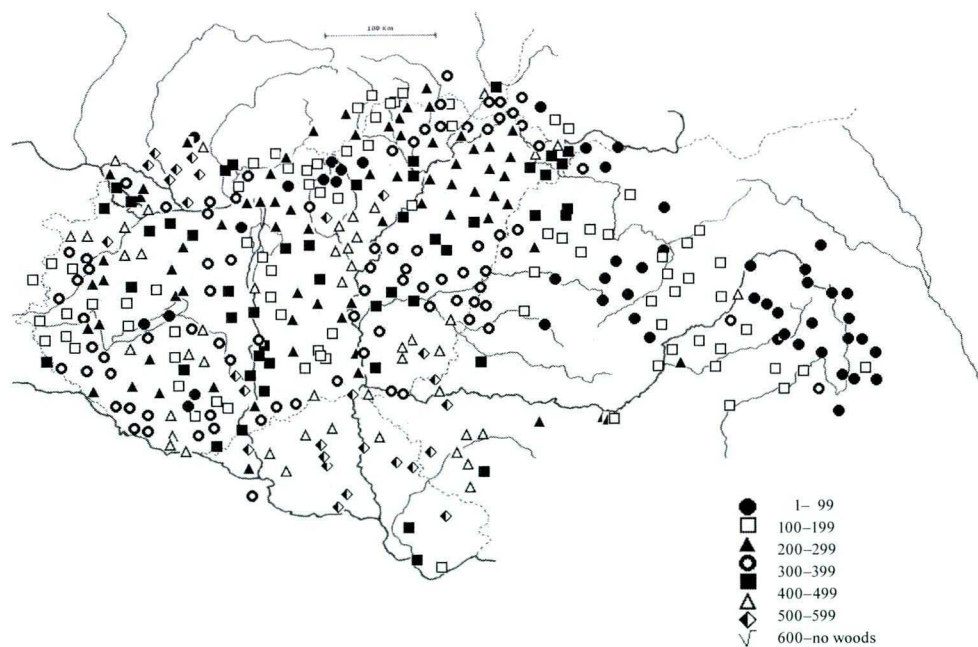
769 The percentage of forest in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1895 (%)



775. The percentage of barren land in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (%)

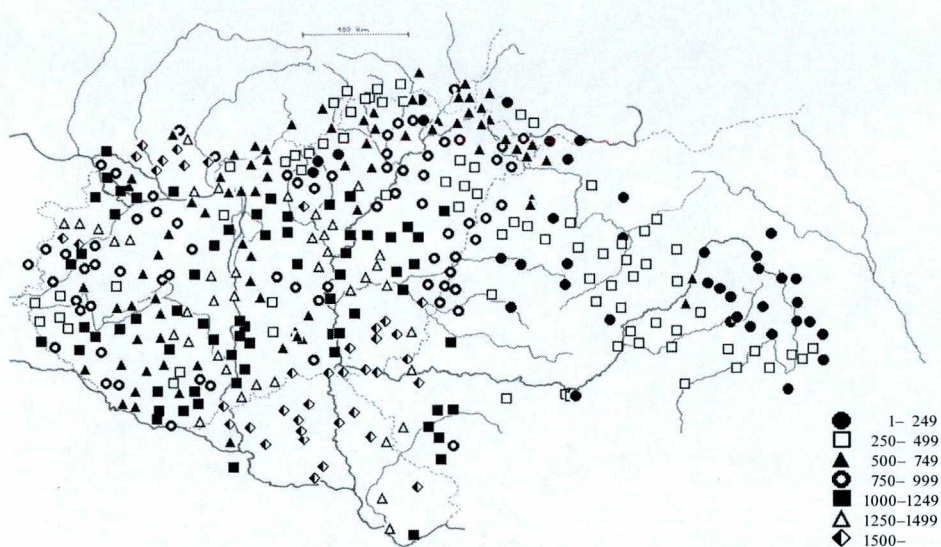


789. The net income of woods in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (fillér/cad.hold)

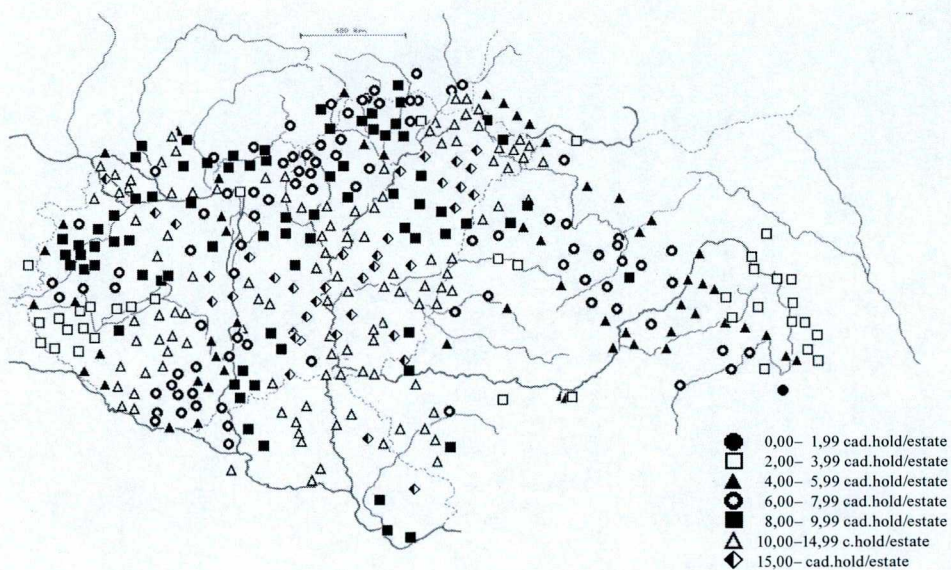




791. The net income of cultivated land in the estimating district that contains the given collecting point  
– 1910 (fillér/cad.hold)



793. The average size of estates projected on the plough-land in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1895



799. The average size of estates projected on the whole territory of a settlement in the district that contains the given collecting point – 1910 (cad.hold/number of estates)



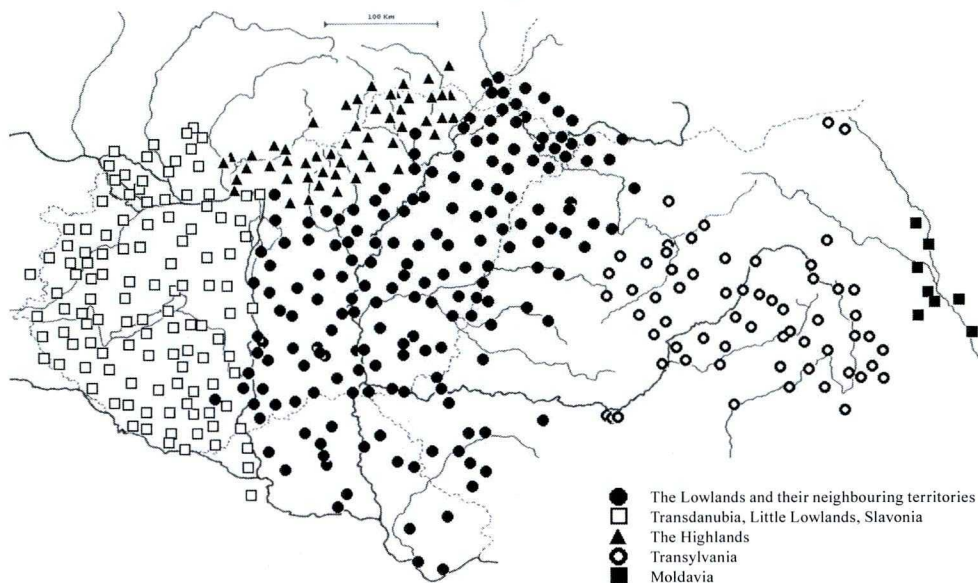


## 800. Agricultural regions – 1910 (counties in brackets)

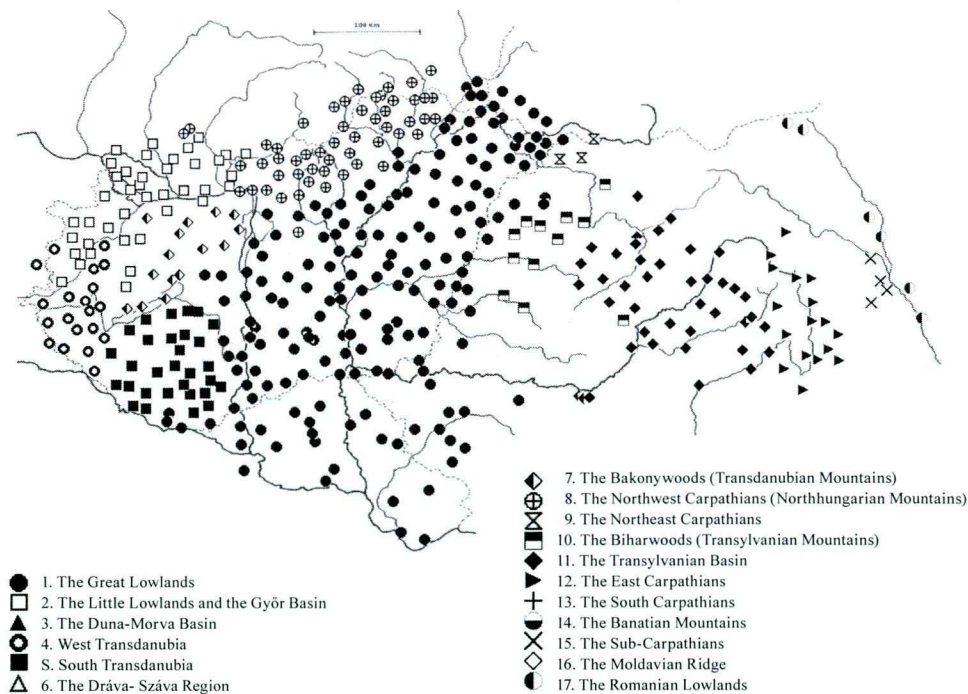


- 1.1. Northwest Transdanubia (Moson, Sopron)
- 1.2. Southwest Transdanubia (Vas, Zala)
- ▲ 1.3. Middle Transdanubia (Fejér, Győr, Komárom, Somogy, Veszprém)
- ◼ 1.4. Southeast Transdanubia (Baranya, Tolna)
- 1.5. Little Lowlands (Bars, Nyitra, Pozsony)
- △ 2.1. The region between the Rivers Duna and Tisza (Esztergom, Heves, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun)
- ◊ 2.2. Transistia (Arad, Békés, Csanád, Csongrád, Hajdú, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok)
- ⊕ 2.3. South Lowlands (Bács-Bodrog, Temes, Torontál)
- ⊗ 2.4. Slavonia (Szerém, Verőce)
- ⊠ 3.1. The Northern Transitional Region (Abaúj-Torna, Borsod, Gömör és Kishont, Hont, Nógrád, Zemplén)
- ◆ 3.2. The Eastern Transitional Region (Bihar, Szabolcs, Szatmár)
- ▼ 4.1. Northwest Highlands (Árva, Trencsén)
- ⊕ 4.2. North Highlands (Liptó, Sáros, Szepes, Turóc, Zólyom)
- ⊗ 5.1. Northeast Highlands (Bereg, Máramaros, Ugocsa, Ung)
- ⊠ 6.1. Southwest Transylvania (Hunyad, Krassó-Szörény)
- ◊ 6.2. South Transylvania (Brassó, Fogaras, Nagy-Küküllő, Szeben)
- ◊ 6.3. East Transylvania (Beszterce-Naszód, Csík, Háromszék, Udvarhely)
- ◊ 6.4. The Transylvanian Basin (Alsó-Fehér, Kis-Küküllő, Kolozs, Maros-Torda, Szilágy, Szolnok-Doboka, Torda-Aranyos)
- ◊ 7.1. Croatian counties (Belovár-Kőrös, Pozsega, Varasd, Zágráb)
- ◊ 7.2. Adriatica (Lika-Krbava, Modrus-Fiume)

801. Great ethnographic areas

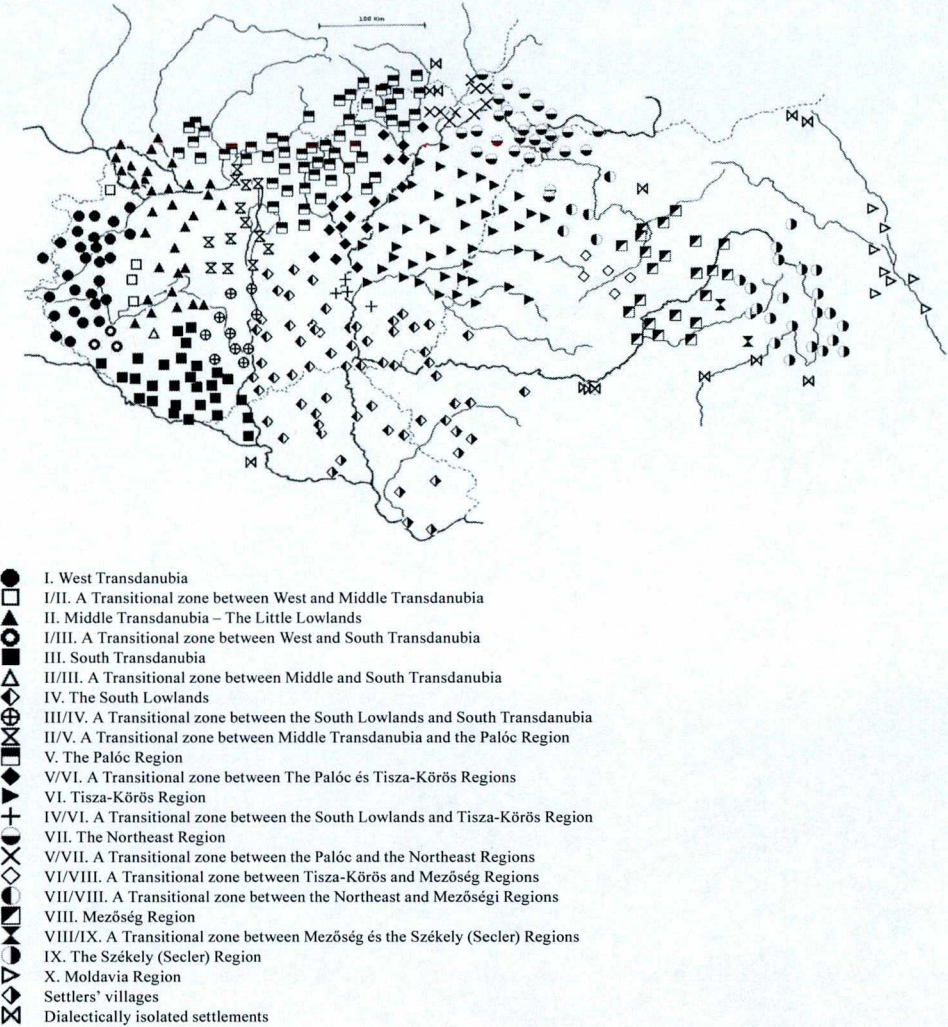


804. Great geographic areas

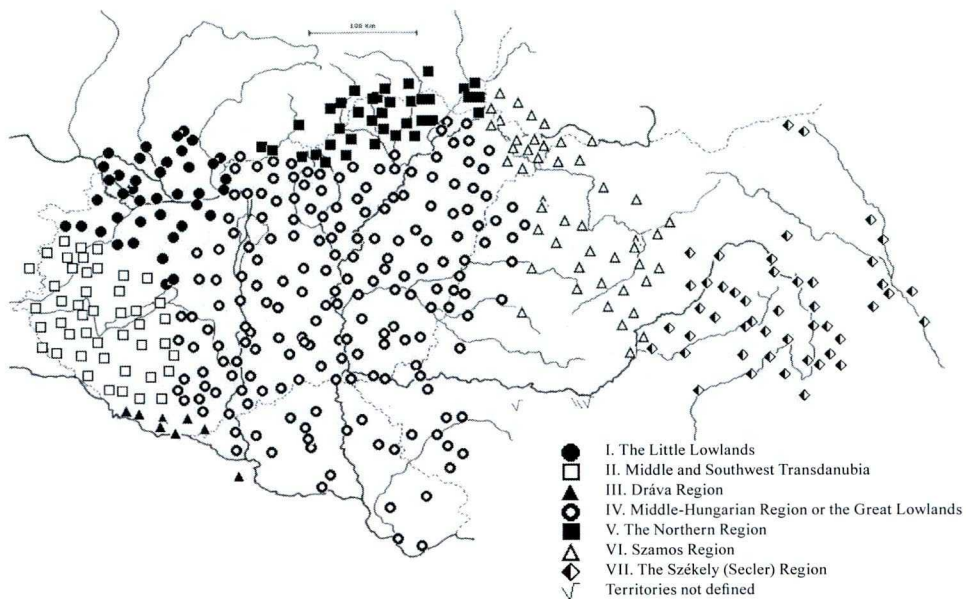
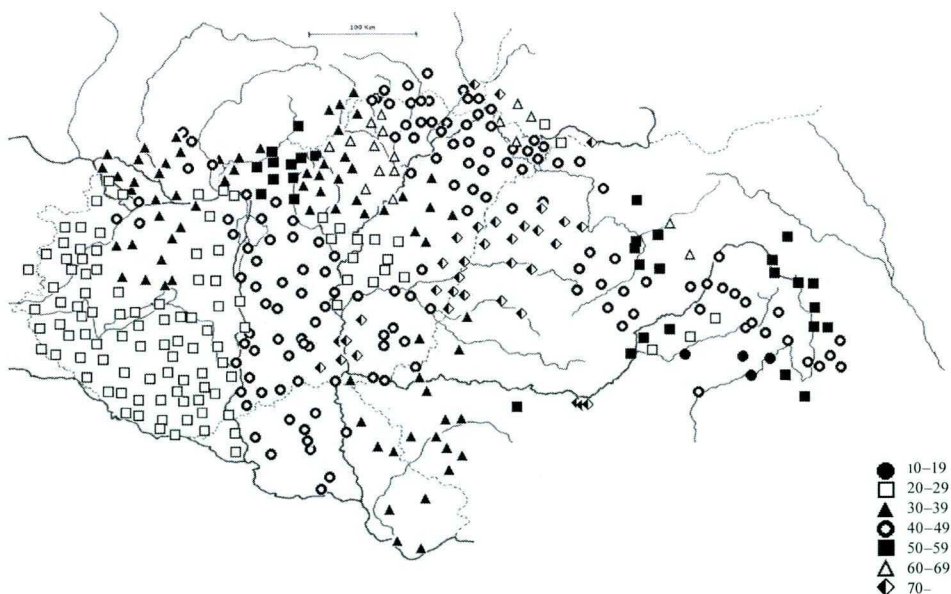




806. Dialectal regions

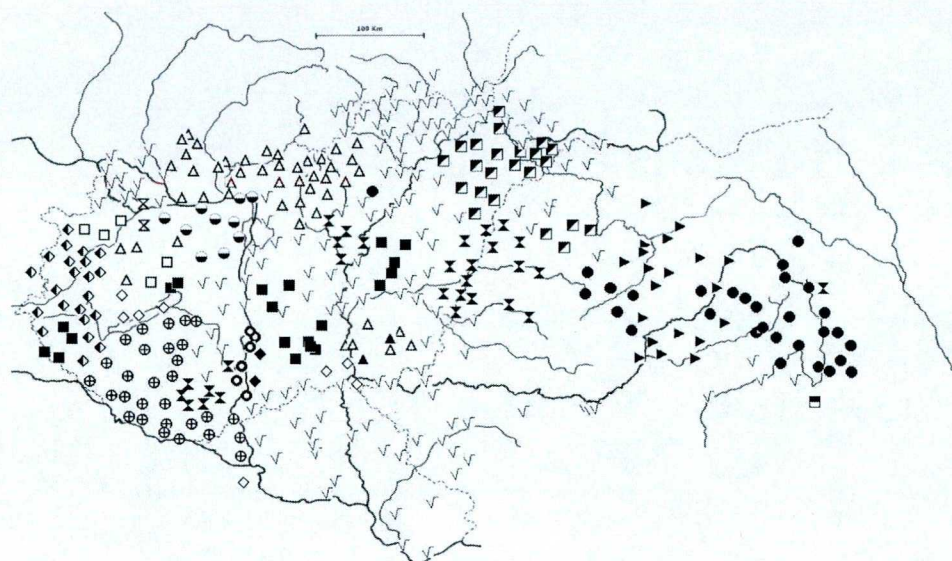


## 813. Buildings – Territorial units without transitional zones – according to Jenő Barabás

817. The density of market places – A synthetic map (territory/market place + population + settlements)  
– 1910 – according to Prinz and Teleki

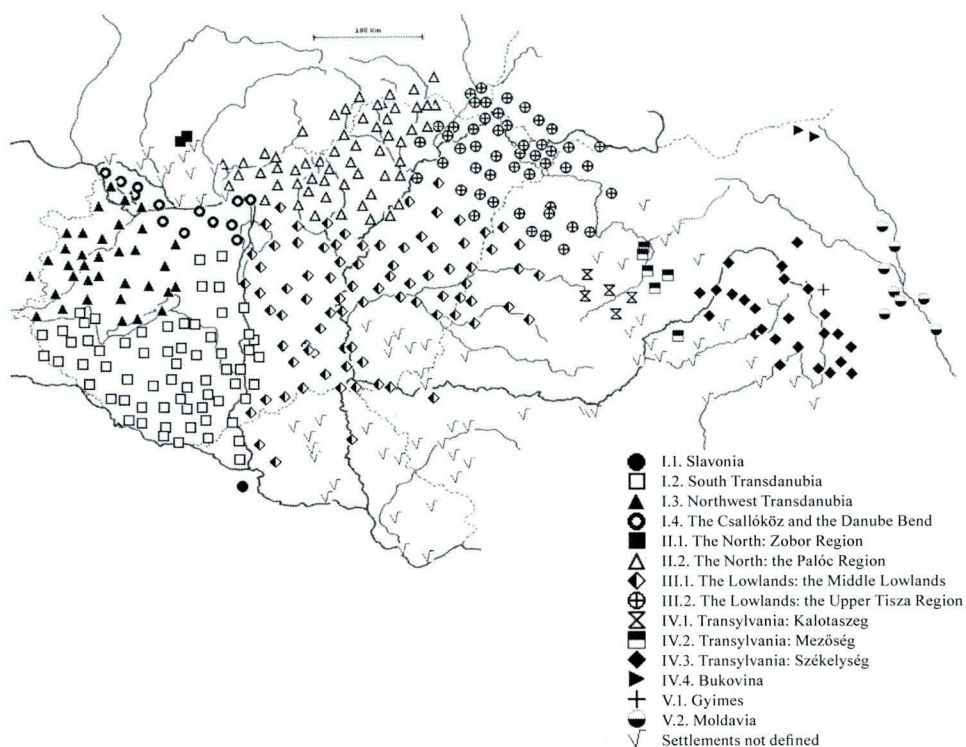


## 821. Ornamental art – highly elaborated fields according to György Domanovszky



- Dwelling houses, furniture, textiles in the house, costumes, pottery
- Dwelling houses, furniture, textiles in the house, costumes
- ▲ Dwelling houses, furniture, textiles in the house, pottery
- Furniture, textiles in the house, costumes, pottery
- Dwelling houses, textiles in the house, costumes
- △ Furniture, textiles in the house, costumes
- ◊ Dwelling houses, furniture
- ⊕ Dwelling houses, costumes
- ⊗ Furniture, textiles in the house
- ▣ Furniture, pottery
- ◆ Textiles in the house, costumes
- ▼ Textiles in the house, pottery
- ◇ Dwelling houses
- Furniture
- ▤ Textiles in the house
- ▲ Costumes
- √ No elaborated fields of ornamental art

824. Folk music – Regional dialects according to Lajos Vargyas



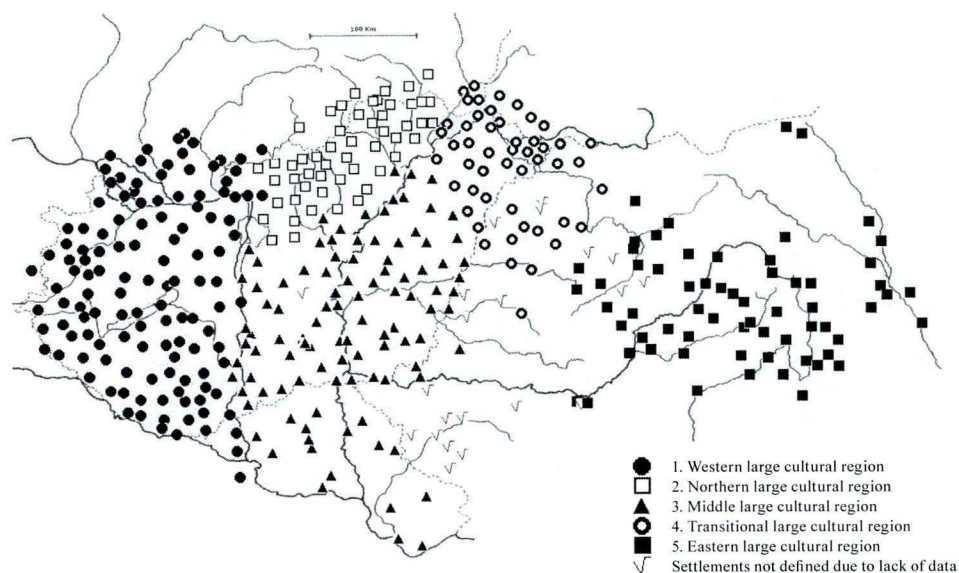
## 827. Folk dance – Regional dialects according to György Martin



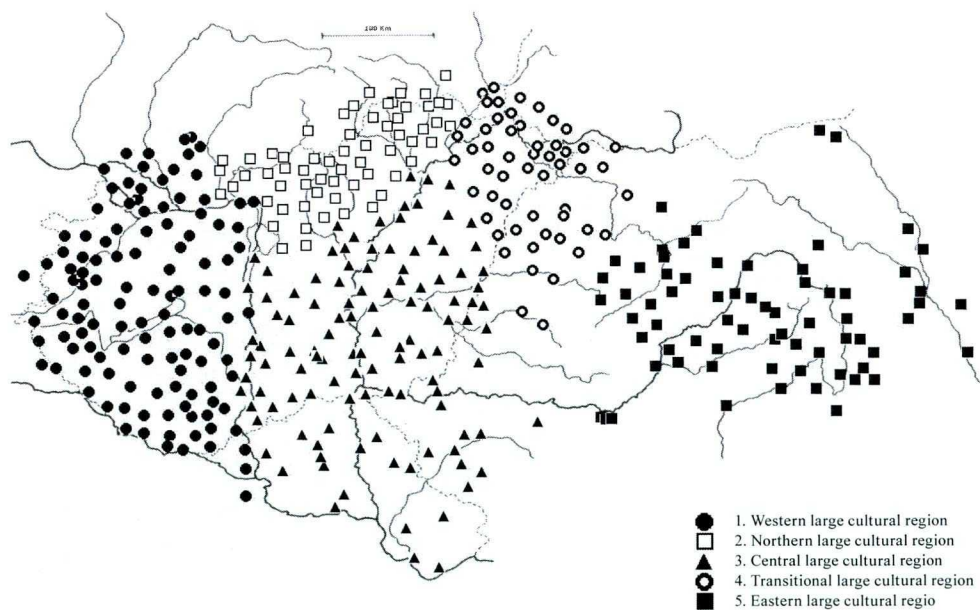
- I.1. The Northwest Region
- I.2. The Csallóköz, the Szigetköz
- ▲ I.3. The Rábaköz
- I.4. West and Middle Transdanubia
- I.5. South Transdanubia
- △ I.6. East Transdanubia (Sárköz, Duna bank, Bácska, Slavonia)
- ◊ I.7. The Kalocsa Region
- ⊕ I.8. The Kiskunság, Solt and Tápó Region
- ⊗ II.1. The Upper Tisza Region
- ◻ II.2. The Northeast Highlands
- ◆ II.3. The East Palóc and Matyó Region
- ◼ II.4. The Nagykunság, the Jászság
- ⊕ II.5. The South Lowlands, the Lower Tisza Region
- ⊙ III.a. Kalotaszeg
- ⊗ III.b. Mezőség
- ◊ III.c. The Maros-Küküllő Region
- ◻ III.d. Marosszék
- ◼ III.e. Székelység
- ◊ III.f. Barcaság, Csángós of Seven Villages
- ◊ III.g. The Csángós of Gyimes
- ◊ III.h. The Székelys (Seclers) of Bukovina
- ◊ III.i. The Csángós of Moldavia
- ⊗ The Region between the Rivers Duna and Tisza (not Martin's definition)
- ◻ Bácska (not Martin's definition)
- √ Settlements not defined



831. Large cultural regions

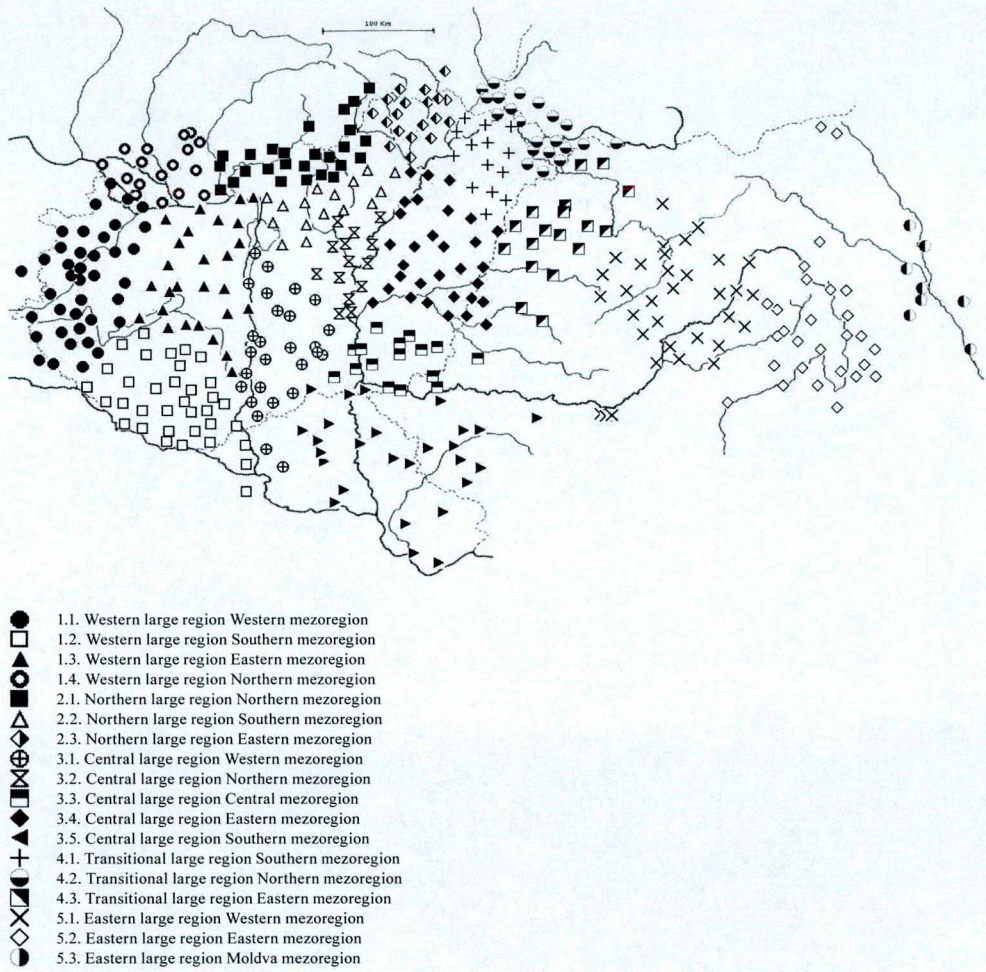


834. Cultural distribution due to the synthesis of the present research – Large cultural regions





835. Cultural distribution due to the synthesis of the present research – Middle-sized (mezo) cultural regions



# SOME THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL INSIGHTS INTO THE JIGSAW PUZZLE OF ETHNOCARTOGRAPHY

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**Abstract:** The immediate impulse for this paper came from the author's empirical involvement with the topics concerning "social culture" while dealing with ethnocartography used in a historically oriented ethnology. This auxiliary heuristic technique is being observed as the jigsaw puzzle of the "old" and the "new" theoretical commitments in Croatian ethnology in the 1970s and 1980s. Although ethnological cartography (not having the methodological power to holistically depict culture, but to particulate/atomize it) represents only one of the possible ways of gaining knowledge in ethnological research, on the basis of two main thematic wholes – the concept of history and the object of research – the author's aim is to defend those principal characteristics of ethnocartography deemed indispensable, the ones that sustain and defend its relevance and existence.

**Keywords:** ethnocartography, ethnological atlases, Croatian ethnology, social culture, theory, methodology, concept of history, object of research

The immediate impulse for this presentation came from my many years of empirical involvement specifically with topics concerning "social culture" while dealing with questionnaires from the *Ethnological Atlas* of former Yugoslavia (as part of the bigger European project) at the *Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology – Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb*. This paper is empirically and theoretically based on some problems connected with ethnocartography – the possibility of comparative analysis and drawing conclusions on the basis of geographical distribution of given phenomena – as an auxiliary heuristic research tool, an instrument used in a historically oriented ethnology. It is placed, methodologically and theoretically, in the context of Croatian ethnology of the 1970s and 1980s, a time of a kind of crisis of ethnology, as we used to call it at the time. The Greek word *crisis* (debate, controversy, dispute, estimation, critique etc.) is exactly what was occurring in Croatian ethnology through those years with, roughly speaking, two different ethnological approaches, the "old" and the "new". Therefore, this auxiliary heuristic technique is observed as the jigsaw puzzle of the "old" and the "new" theoretical

commitments in Croatian ethnology of a time when it has been looked down as an old-fashioned, inappropriate, unimportant, inexact field of work not based on historical premises. T. Schippers, one of the two organizers of our Conference in Szeged, stressed the similar point<sup>1</sup> in his introductory note to the Conference. Before I try to develop my argument, let me state that it was good to be at the 2009 SIEF conference and reunite in the International Ethnogeography Network, ethnogeographic European re/Union or, let's call it – the professional and specific *Ethnological European Union*. For, let us not forget that in this "Union" 32 countries collaborated on an international project with atlases.

The main goal of this contribution is to present my explanation of what I think the reason for such a neglecting attitude towards ethnogeography in Croatian ethnology was. I will try to illustrate it by two thematic wholes: 1) the concept of history; 2) the object of research.

### *The concept of history*

The first cause of the misunderstanding between the two streams in Croatian ethnology is based, in my mind, on the different view of the notion of history, thus further compounding the problem. Therefore, this approach, which I will provisionally call the "new approach", challenges the historicity of this method. This critique, as I see it, misses the point since both sides deal with the same word, history, but understand it as two different notions – two concepts of history. For, how else can we explain the ascribing of nonhistoricity to the results of this technique? To illustrate this I will cite the words of my colleague Olga Supek who in 1983 stated that "[...] if the treated cultural »elements« are not dated as precisely as possible... we get a picture of one »traditional culture« which doesn't represent a specific historical period, but a reified, fixed »former state«. Since the historical dynamics has vanished from the »picture«, this former state is in fact ahistorical."<sup>2</sup>

In my opinion, this view forgets that an ethnological map is not supposed to give a journalistically documented history that should be precisely dated since this is not its goal at all and since for the "distant history" this technique has its very own, unique and intrinsic possibilities. On the contrary, the ethnological map attempts to reach the contacts, connections, influences, migrations and other cultural changes in the distant past for which we are deprived of any historical data, but which can be considered as historical dynamics in its own right. The ethnological map, as a specific ethnological instrument, reveals the past before written history by the distribution of cultural phenomena in space by *the conversion of space relations into time relations of relative sequence*, as A. L. Kroeber pointed out already in 1963.<sup>3</sup> If we refuse to call such a history a history, and if it is the cause for misunderstanding, I would suggest we might call it, for instance, *archeohistory* or *paleohistory*, similarly to the historically oriented ethnology that in Italy is called *archeologia* or *paleologia*. Such a history is history and the denial of the ones criticizing it is unwarranted. What we may acknowledge is that it is not a precisely dated and documented history or, we may say, an "absolute history". Rather, let me roughly call it a "relative history" (like

<sup>1</sup> Of course, not with regard to the situation in Croatia.

<sup>2</sup> SUPEK-ZUPAN 1983: 62. Translated by J.V.P., like all other translations in the article.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in BRATANIĆ 1979: 102.

the one revealed by the strata in archaeological sondas) since it gives us a relational and not necessarily an absolute chronology. What is more, we are dealing with ethnocartography as a specific technique since there is no other methodological way to reach and trace such distant historical movements, such a remote history.

In the aforementioned article O. Supek reasonably supports the need for more precise terms – “peasant culture of the first half of the 19th century”, “the culture of worker suburbs at the beginning of the 20th century” – which would, in opposition to the term “traditional culture” help with, for instance, the setting up of artefacts in ethnographic museums.<sup>4</sup> If we were to apply the same to ethnological cartography, we would face the attempt to link two parameters which do not suffer being connected. Namely, the peasantry and working class are general categories and are not the characteristics of one specific people/folk, but rather of most of humanity. Hence, the goals of ethnological cartography cannot find their place in that “socio-political sector”.

The mentioned denial of “historicity” of the scientific results of the cartographical technique with the consequence being the denial of its value (absurdly enough since its primary goal is right dealing with historical matters!) results, I believe, from a misunderstanding in ethnological theory, and that is that ethnology has two definitions of its subject. This point was brought to light by V. Belaj in 1989 in his much cited *Playdoier – The first definition, the one of Adam Franjo Kollár* (that came out in Kollár’s book published in Vienna in 1783, addition by J.V.P.), emphasizes ethnical cultural characteristics of a certain ethnic group or gens. Its criteria are cultural, its orientation historical with emphasis on ethnical history with its name derived from its subject. The second definition, that of Cesar Chavannes, focuses on understanding the causality behind the general development of humankind. The nominal topic, that of ethnos, is considered as a political and sociological category understood as a unit which has reached a certain level of development which can be detected with the help of certain indicators. Although its orientation is also historical, its goal is to reconstruct the universal cultural development of all humankind. Here ethnos becomes a synonym for a certain level of development in a hierarchy of universal history, its culture is understood as the representative of a graded category and the ethnical characteristics of that culture become in fact irrelevant. Interestingly, this “western” science of the development of general culture takes over the name “panonic” on ethnic happenings.<sup>5</sup>

The history that is revealed after thorough and oftentimes tiresome cartographic work and the “historicity” which we attain this way, surely would satisfy the first, Kollár’s definition of the subject of ethnology, the one oriented on the historical and ethnical aspects of culture. For such an ethnic history, the ethno cartographic technique is “*the quickest, simplest and clearest way to get an objective idea of the traditional cultures of peoples, and of their actual connections and relations [...] especially for the ethnological reconstruction of cultural history it is simply indispensable.*”<sup>6</sup> Ethnological maps may shed light on the relationships between different ethnical groups, their movements, contacts and connections. Herein, we learn of their relative chronology, which is a category whose historicity we can

<sup>4</sup> SUPEK-ZUPAN 1983: 63.

<sup>5</sup> BELAJ 1989: 11.

<sup>6</sup> BRATANIĆ 1979: 101.

challenge without a doubt. For dated history, let us repeat, ethnological cartography is not required. On the other hand, it is indispensable for histories predating written sources. This situation is mostly prevalent for rural settings, especially until recently. Hence, in the context of ethno cartographic research the necessity of introducing the aforementioned more precise categories that of peasantry and workers, is not relevant. This is clearly stressed in the words of the founder of ethnological cartography B. Bratanić *“For successful comparing of the historically originated cultural properties of different peoples, especially for research in the scope of the Ethnological Atlas of Europe, the traditional preindustrial culture, in its various forms and appearance, proved the only possibility of such a common denominator. Without such measures we would always risk the danger of involving ourselves in quite another problem, namely in the advance of urban civilization – a qualitatively and historically entirely different thing – and in the receding of traditional folk cultures, at various times and in various places, which is for ethnology of peripheral interest only, and does not require to be investigated cartographically at all. For a consideration in terms of large areas and for the investigation of far-reaching connections, only old, preindustrial folk culture comes into question if meaningful results are to be expected.”*<sup>7</sup>

### *The object of research*

After quite a long involvement with ethnocartography, it has empirically come to my attention that the success of this technique greatly depends on what we are attempting to depict, and whether the object of research is material or nonmaterial. While carrying out ethno cartographic research based on two topics of social culture – introducing the second wife, besides the first live one<sup>8</sup> and the phenomenon of the sworn *virgins* – I was permanently faced with the fact that the answers to the questions of social culture were mostly insufficient, both in quantity and quality. At the same time, due to their ambiguity, they should be quite the opposite! This fact of insufficiency, among others that will be shown later, proves the thesis that the elements of social organization are harder to depict and can hardly be used on a distributional basis as it is impossible to decontextualize them from the integral whole. It is far more difficult to take out elements of social culture from the social context. In George Peter Murdock's book *Social Structure* we can find an interesting opinion of the author on his work where he states *“one of the most extraordinary conclusions of the present study is that traits of social organization show practically no tendency to yield distributions of this type.”*<sup>9</sup> Similarly, even with a stronger accent, the opinion of the structuralists is that the elements of social organization can't be presented on a distributional basis.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the configurations of material culture are more “cartographic” and are more favourable to cartographic a(na)tomization. They are easy to bring out from the whole, the answers to the questions are unambiguous, easily attainable and clear. Hence, the image of their distribution can be confidently depicted on a map. Let's illustrate it by the example taken from material culture – a trident, a tool for catching fish. It is clear that if we put the question about its shape, the question is strict and the answer simple and straight-

<sup>7</sup> BRATANIĆ 1979: 104.

<sup>8</sup> VINCE PALLUA 1994

<sup>9</sup> MURDOCK 1967: 192.

<sup>10</sup> HULTKRANTZ 1967: 104.



forward. Thus, the answer is unambiguous with its trace on the map being far clearer and, due to that, far more credible. It has become apparent that the clearer and more specific a cultural element is (we could say the “smaller” it is) its typology is more precisely attained, and hence also its final interpretation based on ethnological cartography. It is easier to de-contextualize material culture. It is less prone (but not completely resistant) to large, total or abrupt shifts and is more precisely specified by the merits of its usability, climate and physical conditions of its creation and survival. Due to its more inert characteristics, material culture becomes more prone for “long-term” research, which is precisely what is needed for ethnological cartography. In this way, inertia, paradoxically, brings about dynamics on the map. It allows that from the spatial distribution the diachronic dimension is reached, from the horizontal the vertical, from the spread in space the “spread in time” as the relative chronology. We may now return to the previously mentioned thoughts of O. Supek about the *historical dynamics that has vanished from the “picture”*.<sup>11</sup> It has to be stressed that the seemingly static “picture”, if the movements of shapes on it are read correctly, becomes a real dynamic picture akin to a, let us call it so, hologram, and in this transition from a horizontal image into a vertical chronological picture the (historical) dynamics is gained. The (distributional) picture on the map creates the new picture of movements and relations, the dynamic one we attempt to reach.

### *The eloquent sworn virgins?*

I would now like to show some elementary premises without which the ethno cartographic technique would neither exist nor be valuable as an instrument in the context of historically oriented ethnology. These will be depicted on the basis of some particulars of the *sworn virgin* phenomenon<sup>12</sup>, a concrete example from social culture. The above subtitle asks the question of whether the sworn virgin may answer such questions. While dealing with the virgins I was confronted with these common but aggravating denominators of the social culture for ethnological cartography.

It became apparent that, detached from the complex social whole, the answers to the phenomenon of the virgin are ultimately imprecise and unreliable. This was shown also in the ethnological map made on the basis of overly generalised questions in the questionnaire, and the answers deriving from them. This phenomenon is so complex that oftentimes neither the investigator nor the person asked understood it, and they hence wrongly “assumed” it from those external attributes (e.g. the wearing of trousers, smoking etc.) that only reminded them of this uncommon phenomenon, the ones only tangentially relevant. The ethnological map produced on the basis of real-life examples of virgins collected from the literature serving as a kind of corrector, narrowed considerably the geographical area of this phenomenon. As such, it showed once again the unreliability and inadequacy of cartography when dealing with social culture. Its “shape” is harder to capture than the one of the aforementioned material culture.

<sup>11</sup> SUPEK-ZUPAN 1983: 62.

<sup>12</sup> The sworn virgin is an endemic phenomenon, unique not only in Europe, but in the world, known in the mountainous Dinaric region of the western part of the Balkan peninsula. It is a common-law institution in which a girl is pledged by a vow to remain in lifelong chastity, is dressed like a man, cuts her hair short, smokes, carries weapons, goes to war, if needed, and has all the rights of men in the strict patriarchal society.

In many respects, the *virgin* is a peculiar topic of ethnological research, especially in the context of ethnocartography. For instance, in the context of historically oriented ethnology, it is not possible to apply those challenges to the database in, which aim at its timelessness – its lack of “more precise temporal specification of cultural phenomena” and its separation from people – “ethnology without people”.<sup>13</sup> While discussing specific, oftentimes precisely dated life stories of the virgins, this topic has given us a timeline that we have not come across in any classic works in ethnology. Very rarely do we come across a topic in classical ethnological works where a very specific human individual, with a name and surname, and even with precise biographical data, is precisely dated in time. Even when we, for instance, talk about reapers, Christmas carolers etc., we do not talk about them individually. Even if the individual is approached, for instance when discussing the first congratulant, the so called *položajnik*, we do not receive information about when he was born and under what circumstances from the ethnographical sources. In short, he is not placed into the broader context. With the virgins this information is of critical importance, as the specifics of her life circumstances bring her to this new social status when she becomes a “social male”. For instance, dated information about when the parents or brothers of the virgin died is often specifically noted. Certainly, and referring to section 1 – The concept of history, such precise temporal specifications are not of supreme importance for dealing with this phenomenon in an ethno cartographical context, as was already discussed. Furthermore, there can be no thinking about the “ethnology without people” as the virgin is a human being. However, this characteristic becomes a hindrance in the context of the methodology of ethnographic cartography as the social conditioning, complexity and diversity of this phenomenon does not conform to the agreed formal characteristics of cultural phenomena. In a different way, A. L. Kroeber stated in 1954 “*It is natural that this type of research must put emphasis on »a census of items of culture content«, on formal properties of cultural phenomena, and not on »persons and their relations«.*”<sup>14</sup> In short, ethnological cartography does not have the methodological power to holistically depict culture. On the contrary, it comes to its conclusions by a particularization, and an isolation from its context. That is, in my opinion, the basic reason that this technique is ill-suited to the analysis of social culture and the ethnological map of the virgins made this point very clear.

Nevertheless, the most peculiar characteristic of the virgin phenomenon for the methodology of ethnocartography is its endemic nature. It is a phenomenon, as has been already stated in footnote 3 that is unique not only in European terms, but also in global ones. This endemic situation, with a limited geographic distribution as its consequence, is not really suitable for this heuristic technique since it provides comparisons only within a very small, limited area (with its nucleus on the borderlines among Northern Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo). As Bratanić states “*For ethnological comparison only macrocartography – especially a macrocartography of »microthemes« – has any real value. [...] In any case, there must be also some prerequisites fulfilled. First, the comparability of the phenomena of the culture mapped must be secured. This means that in selecting the material for map-*

<sup>13</sup> ČAPO, GULIN ZRNIĆ, ŠANTEK 2006: 14, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in BRATANIĆ 1979: 101.

*ping – if possible, even in collecting it – the qualities of form of phenomena [...] must be well defined.*"<sup>15</sup>

It became obvious that not only are the qualities of forms of this phenomenon not well defined but also, due to the limited area of its distribution – the endemic nature of the virgins – there were no conditions for comparing and therefore comparability was out of question too. What is more, the mentioned precondition for the real value of ethnological comparison – macrocartography of "microthemes" – in the case of the virgins is turned upside down. Here we have the opposite situation – instead of dealing with macrocartography of "microthemes" we are confronted with microcartography of "macrothemes" i.e. cartography in the limited area with macrothematic complex phenomenon that can't be a(na)tomized but observed as the complex social whole.

Nevertheless, although the endemic feature was, no doubt, counterproductive for the usual purposes of ethnocartography, the set framework/picture of the sworn virgins phenomenon on the map in the limited area still enabled us to get some new, even multiple inter-relationships between this phenomenon and a specific type of patriarchy – a tribal one. This could be observed not only on the macro level of the entire map, but also on the micro level within the selected parts from the map – i.e. in Montenegro where the virgins were rare in the Old Montenegro and quite common in Brda/the so called Mountains, the region where tribal patriarchal lore was more prominent. There are more such examples, but they can't be presented here.<sup>16</sup>

The European project/European Atlas mentioned at the beginning of the article was based on the idea of comparing ethnological topics that are common, i.e. universal, the ones that provide the possibility for comparison across broader areas. Being an endemic phenomenon, absurdly enough, the European atlas would not bring anything new to the research of this topic. In the hectic world of today ethnocartography might help to clear away ethnocentrism and is desired and welcome also for that. Namely, the ones empirically involved with ethnocartography know that on the maps there are no elements restricted to just one ethnic unit and that borders between states are not cultural, ethnic or linguistic borders. This could lead us closer to one of the panels of the Conference – "Crossing and creating borders".

Although ethnological cartography represents only one of the possible ways of gaining knowledge in ethnological research, being an auxiliary heuristic research tool, an instrument used in a historically oriented ethnology, my intention here was to endeavour to defend those principal characteristics of ethnocartography deemed indispensable, the ones that sustain and defend its relevance and existence. For, it is important to keep in mind that with this technique, methodologically and theoretically, one implicitly gives up on a holistic description of culture. On the contrary, the results are arrived to by a particularization of cultural elements and, as we have seen, those more suited for this specific technique in the context of historically oriented ethnology.

<sup>15</sup> BRATANIĆ 1979: 103.

<sup>16</sup> Several maps would be needed in order to illustrate this (not only ethnological ones) which is technically not possible here.

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# ETHNOGRAPHICAL ATLAS OF BOHEMIA, MORAVIA AND SILESIA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM: USING HISTORICAL SOURCES AND GIS<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** In the paper the overview of the content and methodological background of the recently published and currently prepared volumes of Ethnological atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia is given. The main aim of the paper is to show, how written sources from the early modern period could help with the preparation of ethnological maps in the country, where field research of the folk culture hardly can be done at present. Secondly the very successful application of GIS (geographic information system) in the ethnological research is stressed. The very best example of fruitful utilization of both the mentioned aspects is the 5th volume of the Ethnological atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which deals with spatial differentiation of the Jewish settlements and professions in Bohemia.

**Keywords:** Ethnological atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia – geographic information system (GIS) – ethnocartography – methodology – research overview – Jewish settlements

## INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of ethnocartographic research in Europe were related to the linguistic geography that had developed since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century. The first systematic ethnocartographic research took place in Germany already at the end of the 1920s. The German Ethnographic Atlas (ADV 1937–40) was composed rather broadly from the territorial point of view (on the basis of ethnical principle) and also included the German regions of the then Czechoslovak Republic. The questionnaires were being sent to Czechoslovakia in the years 1929–1935. However, this method had one serious deficiency, noted by H. L. Cox (1982). On the ethnically mixed territory it mapped the selected phenomena only for one that is German, part of the inhabitants.

After the World War II ethnocartographic research and the work on atlas directly con-

<sup>1</sup> The text was written within the frame of the project Ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, funded by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, Project no. P410/11/1287.

nected to it were developing promisingly and intensely, especially in Scandinavia and also in Central Europe and parts of Eastern Europe. The Germans, in succession with the atlas of the inter-war period, started to publish its new series (ADV–NF 1958–1984). In the Czech lands, however, unlike in Slovakia, the systematic work on the complex ethnographic atlas had never really started, due to many reasons, among them also ideological ones. There had not been any general surveys and the researches via questionnaire were of markedly random character. Only the personal activities of distinguished personalities (initially D. Stránská, then among others V. Frolec, J. Kramář, V. Scheufler and J. Vařeka) possibilitated the cartographic processing of selected themes (Stránská 1956; Frolec 1966; Frolec 1973a; Frolec 1973b; Kramář 1963; Kramář 1968; Kramář 1978; Vařeka 1975a; Vařeka 1975b; Vařeka 1978; Vařeka 1996) and to start the preparations for the ethnographic atlas in general (Kovačevićová – Frolec – Vařeka 1978). However, most of these initiatives had faded away during the 1970s.

After the fundamental political and social changes took place at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the ethnocartographic work in the Czech Republic commenced to develop on qualitatively different basis. Given the fact that all neighboring states had already had their own ethnographic atlases (EAS 1990; ÖVA 1959–1980; PAE 1954–2010) or these were being worked out considerably, the making of ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia seemed a necessity. At the same time, however, the substantial delay made possible the concentration on those aspects of traditional culture that should be studied not only within the national framework, but in European and comparative perspective. Foreign ethnographic atlases offer a broad comparative platform for such approach.

## METHODOLOGICAL BASE

The work on the atlas was rather demanding from the point of view of time and organization. In the 1990s the work took place in the Ethnological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences under the methodological direction of J. Vařeka and L. Petráňová, later F. Bahenský and J. Woitsch. Given the personal and financial limits (the work on the ethnographic atlas had been financed largely by three-year programs of grant agencies) and also the specific heuristic base the ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia is being published in several thematically homogeneous volumes that accentuate the development of traditional culture, especially the material culture. In the last decades volumes were published focusing on the home production in the second half of the nineteenth century (Scheufler 1991), handicraft production and trade in the years 1752–1756 (Martínek 2000), ethnographic regionalisation of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in the Early Modern Era (Jeřábek et al. 2004) and the Jewish settlements in Bohemia in the second half of the eighteenth century (Ebelová et al. 2007) and many other thematic areas were developed considerably.

The long-term concept of the ethnographic atlas represents, therefore, a reaction to the given possibilities of research and the general scientific policy, but at the same time – and to a much greater degree – reflects the specific circumstances of the development of popular culture in Central Europe, as well as the development of the ways of its research.

In contrast to the majority of neighboring countries where the work on the atlases had made considerable progress, or where the ethnographical atlases were published decades ago, the majority of the phenomena of traditional culture in the Czech lands could not be studied through field research as the principal method of data collecting. In the 1990s, when the work on the atlas was revitalized in the Czech lands, it would be mistaken and, indeed, impossible to try to realize field research or even research via questionnaire, focused on those themes from the areas of material and spiritual culture that are covered in "classical" ethnographical atlases. Already at the end of the nineteenth century the traditional folk culture in the Czech lands had entered the phase of rapid nivelization and even extinction, due to the hasty urbanization and industrialization. Its study through common methods used for collecting ethnocartographic data a hundred years later is simply impossible.

To this we should add the already mentioned inadequate attention devoted to ethnocartography in the Czech lands after the World War II. With the exception of some valuable, but regionally and thematically unbalanced collections of questionnaires of Ethnographic Society, there were no uniformly prepared and realized researches covering the whole territory of the Czech Republic that could be easily projected to ethnographic maps. Also the covering of the Czech lands by regional monographs offering comparable and cartographically analyzable data is also rather patchy. Neither the museum funds offer considerable help. Their collections were mostly created at random, many of the items are not pasporitized adequately and acquired according to aesthetic and sometimes ethnic criteria.

How are we, then, to prepare ethnographic atlas in these conditions? What themes should be covered, what methodology should be chosen? The authors and editors of the volumes of the ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have faced these questions for almost 20 years. Only after the year 2000, however, these problems have begun to be reflected in a systematic way. In the new millennium several basic principles were established for the elaboration of ethnographic maps.

a) The atlas is composed consistently on the basis of so called regional principle, without regard to the past or present ethnical composition of concrete regions. But this does not mean that we avoid detecting cartographically the same problems that arose especially from the long-term interaction of Czechs and Germans in Central Europe (for example, the language borders).

b) The mapped phenomena are being presented in chronological perspective that is slightly different from the standard composition of ethnographic atlases. Traditional folk culture in its static and dynamic aspects had been followed approximately from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, but the concrete time delineation of course depends on the character of the analyzed aspects. At the same time, the commensurability and coherence of the analyzed data is strictly required, that is, the material should come from the same time period and comparable social setting. The limitations of excessive stress laid on the synchronic perception of the problem that might lead to the construction to the "ideal type" of folk culture of concrete period, is being equilibrated through mapping of the selected phenomena in various time levels. We are well aware of the fact that the folk culture, in spite of the tending towards conservation of time-tested patterns of behavior and acting, was and is a phenomenon that changes through time. Thus, the ethnographical atlas focuses on the period of the highest advancement of

the so-called traditional culture of the Czech lands, before the beginning of modern industrial era. In our opinion this approach is very productive, because it enables the recording of many aspects of traditional culture in clearly delineated and coherent time level. And the concrete themes can at any time be “opened” again and through their study in different time periods, the diachronic, developmental aspects can be illuminated.

c) Given the character of the analyzed phenomena that, as was explained, cannot be studied through field research (thus the ethnographic field research will carry the role of supplement and control component), the heuristic basis of the ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia is radically different from many other ethnographical atlases, including those of the neighboring countries. The use of specific sources can be considered as the most important methodical–methodological feature of the elaboration of ethnographical maps in the Czech Republic.

Such approach would not be able without radical reconsideration of the rigid image of ethnography as a discipline of field research. This image had so far greatly limited the study of historical forms of the folk culture in the Czech lands. The basis of cartographic work would then rest on the ethnographic–historical study. Its heuristic basis consists in written sources, archival as well as published.

Of special importance for the complex study of folk culture in the studied period are especially the sources of general statistical, or protostatical character. These sources offer, on a homogeneous chronological cross-section, but at the same time in continual sequences, voluminous aggregates of comparable data for folk culture for the whole territory or at least considerable portions of the Czech lands. Briefly, these sources can be divided into three groups: documents that arose for fiscal and administrative purposes (especially the land registers and censuses), sources that arose from the activities of specialized economic institutions (for example the economic questionnaires) or were elaborated for the use of these institutions, and finally the statistics that resulted from private activities of individuals (historical–geographical and topographical works). Through combination of these types of sources and their detailed analyses a relatively complex data can be reached on the forms of Early Modern and Modern village culture. It is obvious that these sources focus mostly on the so called material culture (housing, architecture, agriculture, handicraft production, transportation, clothing), but some statistical and protostatistical sources bring also numerous information on the so called spiritual culture, as well as social structure – for example, the demographical data on family forms (Woitschová – Woitsch 2006), the mobility of village inhabitants. Some topographical works and questionnaires even contain detailed reports on folklore or dance culture.

d) Of great importance for the general focus and further development of ethnocartography in the Czech lands is the application of newest computer technologies. The use of so-called geographic information systems represents, besides the use of historical sources, the second main feature of the contemporary approach of Czech ethnocartography (Woitsch – Horálek 2008).

Of course, the cartographic elaboration of any map reflects its time period. Ten years ago it was still common – in the Czech lands as well as in other countries – to make maps by the use of tracing paper, coloured inks etc. Today such techniques would be, of course, obsolete. Dynamic development of information technologies renders possible not only the



making of maps without ink, but to realize much more complicated operations. For example, to analyze the spatial relations of traced phenomena in such a way that would have been impossible in the past (Konečný – Voženilek 1999; Tuček 1998).

Most of the objects and phenomena of the real world including those that are of interest for cartographers finds itself on some place of the earthly surface (for example, river) or is connected to some place (certain handicraft is being practiced in certain locality). At the same time, these objects and phenomena exist in given area together with many other objects and mutually influence each other. Graphical depiction of these phenomena and relations we call the map that must indispensably be complemented with commentary that specifies the concrete pieces of information. When we work with such data in computer, we must digitalize both, not only the information on the object, but also on its location. This type of data is called geographical (or spatial) data and the computer system that enables us to preserve and use them is called Geographic Information System (GIS).

Simple spatial data can be processed also by some of the widely used computer programs, like databases, table processors, statistical programs or programs for designing (CAD). Common users also often come into contact with commercial map databases. But GIS differs considerably from all these programs. It can not only present data and classify them according to simple criteria (alphabet, mathematical values), but it can deal with questions on characteristics of objects, their location and their relation to other objects. In other words, it combines the qualitative data with topological data. Besides, the resulting output (answer to our questions) is a map that can be further adjusted and elaborated at will.

GIS had been designed approximately from the second half of the 1960s. Nowadays, they represent globally used computer platform that helps to process and analyze geographical data and to make maps (Handbook 2000). Of course, they find the broadest use in natural sciences and technical disciplines, as well as in state administration, territorial planning and in military. The humanities had discovered the advantages of GIS somewhat later. Of greatest use are at the moment in archaeology, in the research of historical landscapes and in historical geography. In ethnography, on the other hand, still reigns rather mistaken and limited image of the GIS as “drawing” program. This is the case of ethnocartography all over Europe (Schippers 1997).

At the moment, probably the most widely used desktop program represents the software ArcGIS, brought out in the year 1990 by the American company ESRI, dedicated to the development of GIS since the beginning of the 1970s. And precisely the ArcView GIS 3.2 became in the year 1999 the core for the building of ethnocartographic workplace within the Department of historical ethnology of the Ethnological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences. At present we are working with more advanced version of GIS software – ArcGIS / ArcMap 9.0. The program works under OS Windows, it renders possible the making of maps with the use of symbols, the choice of colors, various types of classification of data, drawing of various types of graphs, definitive versions of maps in form of so called drawings that can be directly printed, inserted into other applications (Word) or exported in form of pictures (TIFF, JPEG). And, of course, the software offers innumerable possibilities for analysis. It can realize spatial analyses – overlays and intersections of surfaces – as well as search for elements according to given criteria, merge them etc. Last but

not least, through ArcGIS the spatial data can be related to databases, the program directly uses numerous vector and grid formats of data. Therefore, data from various sources can be used without the need for converting, including the three-dimensional data.

Therefore, software represents an important tool and help for the making of ethnographic maps. But in order to depict and analyze the selected phenomena of traditional folk culture, these must be first entered into the system. The core of the information system consists of so called vector data. To polygons, lines and points that represent objects and phenomena (including those ascertained through ethnographic research) can be added wide spectrum of attributes. The connection of graphic and tabular data and the use of the GIS software render possible the visual representation of these data, enclosure of further statistical information or user tables, and also a wide spectrum of spatial analyses.

Geographical data used by us can be divided into two groups, according to their origin. First, there are purchased data – in other words, digital vector geographic databases of the Czech Republic, Europe and the world. Therefore, we are currently able to analyze and present ethnographic phenomena also in wide European context. The purchased data depict the basic geographical elements (hydrography, contours, settlements, roads, forests etc.), administrative units with their attributes (states, regions, counties) and finally the so-called supplementary information (f. e. parallels and lines of longitude). The already processed, commercial geographical databases can be supplemented by partial collections of data that are provided for free for example by state institutions, scientific departments etc. Numerous data can also be obtained via Internet and also by GPS surveying in terrain.

All of the abovementioned sources represent the basic frame and necessary tool for the realization of ethnocartographic outputs. We can use it for geographic referencing and vectorization of data obtained by our proper research, for making spatial analyses etc. Of importance is also the possibility of using the geographical data for high quality presentation of maps. However, the core of our work in the future should consist in the making of new aggregates of data that can be elaborated, with the use of GIS software, into ethnographic maps. One of the great advantages of the work with GIS is, of course, the possibility of never-ending emendations and corrections of maps, the continuous supplementing of running projects with new pieces of information. In simple terms, with the map and the data analysis we can work in ways similar to the work with text in text editor. And the results can be extraordinary. None of the maps, even those published in a printed form, can be considered complete. All of them can be complemented at any time, connected with other maps; new ethnographical phenomena can be included into them.

## JEWISH INHABITANTS IN BOHEMIA – MODEL EXAMPLE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC–HISTORICAL MAPS MADE IN GIS

As model example of the use of historical sources of the second half of the 18th century and their elaboration and analysis with the use of GIS can serve the volume of the ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, dedicated to the Jewish religious minority (Ebelová et al. 2007). The volume consists of two main parts – text and maps. Even though it is called “atlas”, it corresponds to our concept of ethnographic atlas that are more

detailed textual analyses of historical sources complemented by graphic and map supplements.

The fifth volume of the ethnographic atlas was composed on the basis of the unique series of detailed register of Jewish inhabitants in Bohemia that arose in the period of the so-called bureaucratic anti-Semitism in the eighteenth century. In January 1714 started the work of the so-called Jewish commission in Bohemia. Its task was to evaluate the growth of Jewish community in Bohemia. In the years 1723–1724, precisely this commission instigated the first census of the Jews. After the year 1781, the listing of the Jews (later principally on the ground of their taxing) became the task of the Czech Gubernium. Other censuses were preserved in the documentation of this institution: concretely from the years 1783, 1786, 1793–1794, 1799 and 1811. Even though this collection of sources is extremely valuable and unique, by now it had been used only sparsely and not systematically. Its cartographical use – even though this possibility is obvious – had never been even considered in the past decades.

The maps that present the residential and socio-professional structure of Jewish inhabitants of Bohemia in the years 1792–1794 were prepared on the basis of the most detailed and best preserved census of the Jews ever realized in Bohemia (situation in Moravia was, in this sense, somewhat different, as such censuses were either not realized or were not preserved completely, therefore the maps depict only Bohemia within its contemporary borders). This census was initiated by the command of the land gubernium of January 4, 1793. To guarantee the comparability of concrete censuses, a model questionnaire was prepared, together with instructions for filling up. The questionnaire should include, besides the name of the region and the heading, numerous sections to which names of the Jews were filled up, as well as the structure of their families, age, place of current residence and the place where they found themselves “under protection” (that is, the community of their “permanent residence”). There were also detailed notes about the wealth of the Jews and the professions to which they dedicated themselves.

This survey was completed in June 1794. It resulted in several thousand pages of manuscripts that had to be analyzed by the authors of the ethnographic atlas long before than they commenced its elaboration in GIS (Kučerová – Woitsch 2005). After a database was created, the census of the Jews was statistically evaluated, mistaken entries were corrected etc. For the cartographic elaboration were selected the data on residential and socio-professional practices of the Jews in Bohemia, due to their completeness and their importance for historical and ethnographical research. These data were then adjusted to the form that can be used in GIS.

In the first place it was necessary to find the clue for transformation of the original data into new classificatory frame. Most of the analyses focused on the specific Jewish socio-professional structure. Therefore, the Jewish professions were divided into three basic areas –productive occupations (in other words, handicraft productions like wine making, butchery, potash making), non-productive occupations (especially various forms of services) and finally trades (peddlers, sellers of tobacco, cloth etc.). All of the three areas are further divided into seven partial activities.

The source contains information on approximately 47,000 Jews in Bohemia. Of these, 9000 lived in Prague. Due to the specific situation of this city, as well as the high concentration

of inhabitants, Prague was omitted of the analysis and the maps, and the situation in the city was commented separately. The remaining approximately 38 000 Jews lived in the year 1829 in Bohemia in localities that are unequivocally localizable (on the basis of historical sources, topographies and lexicons). For all these localities we had to ascertain the coordinates, including for communities disappeared long ago, renamed or incorporated into other entities.

Great problem for modern cartographic work on history represents the inexistence of any digital map groundwork for past time periods; the more so for the eighteenth century. Besides, in the eighteenth century there were considerable changes of the borders of states or smaller administrative units. On the basis of preserved maps from this period and maps from historical atlases, we vectorized in GIS the majority of state borders that in 70% of cases correspond to the situation in the studied period (1792–1794). The rest of the borders corresponds to the situation in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the final map covered the whole territory of Bohemia, the possible divergences are in this scale insignificant. The borders of 16 historical regions, used during the processing of the data, but not in the final atlas, correspond to the situation in the 1750s.

The river system of Bohemia was used as landmarks in these maps. However, certain problems arose with the contemporary fluvial network. After the year 1794, many waterworks were created or disappeared and this would lead to inappropriate depictions (for example, due to the building of artificial lakes, many villages would be situated on their “bottom”). Even though these differences would not be visible, we decided to adjust the rivers according to the established localizations of villages and on the basis of historical maps. Also, all of the rivers were reduced to simple lines (this does not hold, for example, for ponds that existed already at the end of the eighteenth century).

The greatest amount of time during the works on atlas was needed for the work with the sources, their critical evaluation and interpretation. The maps as such were, thanks to the ArcGIS software, prepared within six months. During this period we prepared, besides the verification of the input data (on the whole we entered into the GIS more than 60,000 pieces of information, in addition to the localization data), more than four hundred partial maps. Some of them will be published later, after being supplemented from other sources. These partial maps became the basis for the spatial characteristics of socio-professional structure of Jewish inhabitants of Bohemia. Of the digitally processed partial maps we selected for print 42 that in the best way demonstrated the regional diversity of professional structure. Of these, 16 maps show the socioprofessional structure in the individual regions, the remaining 26 the spatial distribution of concrete profession, their structure and the structure of Jewish inhabitants on the territory of whole Bohemia.

Only these maps unequivocally revealed or confirmed the characteristics of Jewish settlement in Early Modern Bohemia. The extent and density of Jewish settlement depended on the existence of important centers of Jewish economic and spiritual life. Also, there was the crucial role of concrete landlords and regional authorities. The maps clearly show the substantial differences in Jewish settlement structure, for example, between the western and southern Bohemia on the one hand, and central and eastern Bohemia on the other. It was proved that in the analyzed period there was a profuse Jewish settlement also in the country, but of extraordinary prominence was of course Prague, one of the most important Jewish settlements in the whole Europe.



With regard to the socioprofessional structure of Jewish inhabitants, at the end of the eighteenth century dominated the trade in various goods. But the map depiction of various professions and their groupings shows substantial regional differences in the structure of concrete Jewish businesses that depended on local demand for specific goods, the need to carry on long-distance as well as local trade, the size of specific Jewish settlements, but also the local everyday interaction of the Jews with the major population. Therefore, somewhere the Jews dedicated them almost exclusively to trade, somewhere small workshops predominated. Many questions on the concrete causes for the marked and specific regionalization of these subsistence activities remain without answer by now, as well as other aspects of the everyday life of the Jews. This should become the theme of subsequent research. However, at the moment it can be stated that the fifth volume of the ethnographic atlas represents a highly important contribution to our understanding of the problem of religious and ethnic differentiation of Early Modern Bohemia. It in a substantial way enlarged our cognizance of everyday interaction of village inhabitants, and in fact the whole complex of the so-called folk culture, with the second largest ethnic/religious minority that inhabited our territory in the past.

## CONCLUSION

The work on the ethnographic atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia were commenced several decades later than had been the case of the majority of ethnographic atlases of European countries. They were started in the period that poses substantial limits to the ethnocartographic work, due to the loss of the living field of research, and forcibly reorients the researcher to the written historical sources containing the data on the forms of traditional folk culture of Central Europe. On the level of methodology, however, we hold on the basic premises of ethnocartography. We try to comprehend the mutual relations of the individual phenomena of the folk culture, including the connection of the specific phenomenon with its natural setting, to delineate the borders of cultural areas and give a true picture of regional differences in given time period. Given the early extinction of many phenomena of folk culture in Bohemia, all this can be studied for the period of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. The cartographic method enables us to create typologies and systematize spatially the selected cultural fact, delineated morphologically, socially and functionally, existing in given time and on given territory.

On the level of technology, the development of computer technologies enabled after the year 2000 the preparations of the ethnographic atlas in fully digital form. The maps are made in graphically ideal form. But the main advantage of GIS consists of the possibility of continuous elaboration of the maps, of realization of spatial analyses that would not be possible in the past, as well as the possibility of making numerous specialized maps, of which only the most instructive and relevant for the scientific public could be chosen.

At present, the Department of historical ethnology of the Ethnological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences in cooperation with other partners and specialists from other institutions has been continuously working on next volumes of ethnographic atlas or partial ethnographic maps. Some of them are almost finished and prepared for printing. In



this last phase is the collection of maps to the folk architecture, folk art (for example the making of nativity scenes, glass painting), spiritual culture and folklore (here, for example, maps depicting the dance culture or forms of marriage customs). And the sixth volume of the ethnographic atlas was already published in the very end of the year 2009 (Holubová 2009) – a collection of maps is dedicated to the problem of pilgrimages in Bohemia in 17th and 18th century. This volume was – not surprisingly – composed on the basis of a wide spectrum of written archival sources and elaborated with the use of GIS. The further development of demanding ethnocartographic work appears to be highly important for the development of the theoretical basis of the whole discipline in the Czech Republic. It can be expected that this research remains also in the future one of highly productive projects of the Ethnological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

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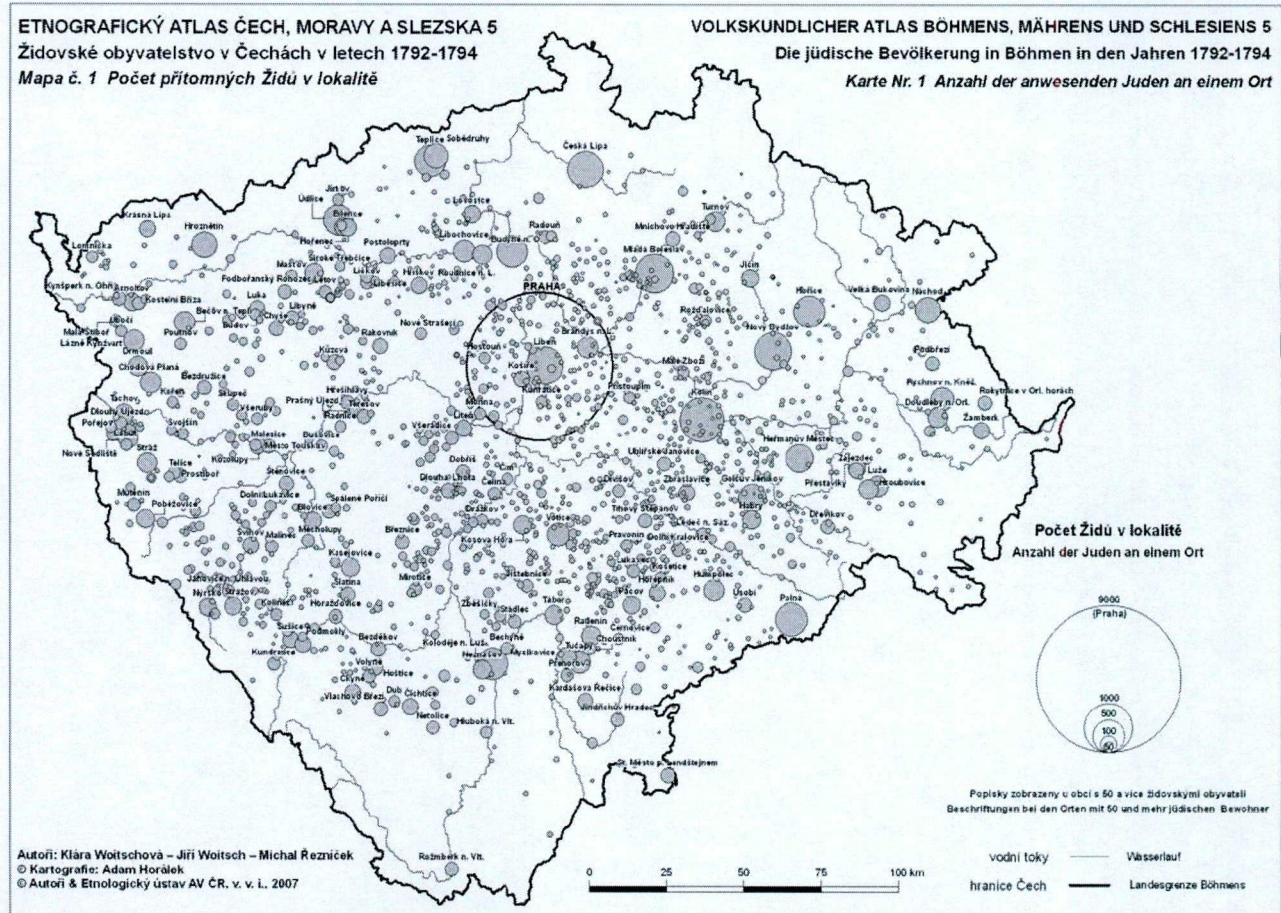
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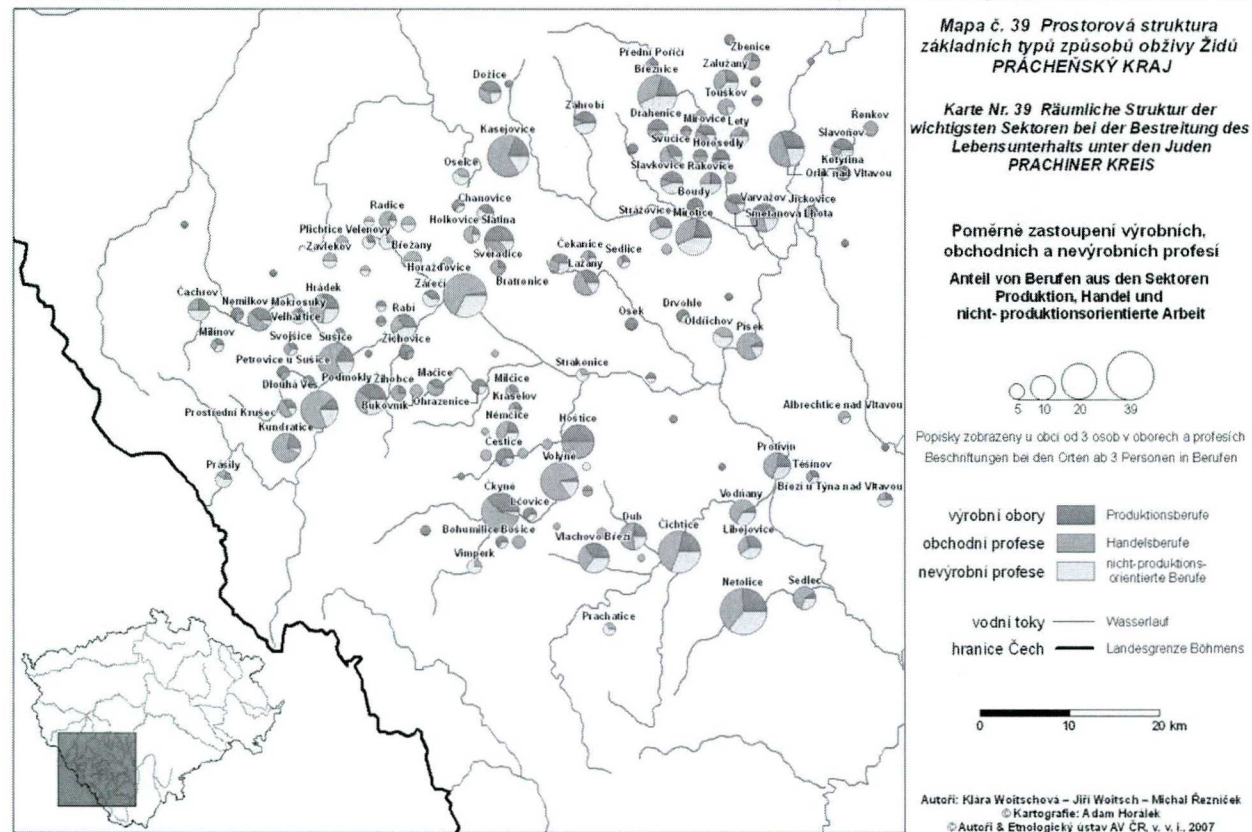
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Picture 1: Jewish settlements in Bohemia in the years 1792–1794. (Ebelová et al. 2007, map 1).





Picture 2: Regional specifics of Jewish professions (in the categories of productive, non-productive and trading professions) in the Prácheň region in the years 1792–1794. (Ebelová et al. 2007, map 39).

# TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF SLOVAK COLONISTS IN THE LOWLAND – SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION ISSUE

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**Abstract:** The process of cultural adaptation of the Slovak colonists to the new living conditions in Lowland did not result in the cultural destruction. There was a selective transfer of cultural information that corresponded with the Slovak enclaves' current needs in the new environment. However, the Slovak material culture did not lose its previous role of the main symbol of ethnic identification. Interaction between Slovaks, the majority community and other ethnic minorities, was reflected in the material culture. Social conditions in Lowland were favourable for the Slovak colonists' efforts to negotiate the differences between their original material culture and the new one that they were building in the process of construction of their new living environment. The Slovak enclaves in Lowland manifested a high degree of "cultural literacy" – the ability to exist in certain material and social environment. Their cultural competencies that were acquired in the native cultural environment in Slovakia (socialization) were effectively implemented in the multiethnic and multicultural environment. The ability of ethnic community to adapt to the changed living conditions which does not have significant impact on ethnic identification is known as cultural adaptability.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** agrarian culture, cultural adaptability

## *The Slovaks in the Lowland*

As early as in the Middle Ages the historico-political development in the territory of Slovakia determined the creation and shaping of peasant and shepherd cultures whose character was influenced by two factors in particular – geographic location and low economic potential of this area, which was at that time, economically and socially speaking, on the European fringe. In spite of the fact that the cultural system of the traditional folk culture, which frequently bordered almost on seclusion, featured substantial stability, the local population was forced to abandon their homes in times of crises and social movements hoping to improve their economic and social situation. This was the case of Slovakia at

<sup>1</sup> The contribution was supported by the project of the Institute of Ethnology SAS "Slovakia and its identity" („Slovensko a jeho identita“)

the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries during the time of excessive impoverishment of peasants caused by wars, feudal clashes but also due to existence of large estates (manors). Landowners running the lands on their own had to keep increasing the taxes from their leaseholders and the quantity of their work on the estate because of the level of contemporary agrarian culture, underdeveloped market and monetary relations. As the historical documents prove, the first third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century brought such an enormous growth of landless people and agrarian overpopulation in the mountainous and foothill regions of Slovakia that the migration in search of work, initially seasonal and later permanent one, became inevitable.

Slovak colonists became interested in the Lowland (territory on the borders of present-day Hungary, Romania, Serbian Vojvodina, and Croatian Slavonia). Beginnings of the Slovak migration to this area date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The last phase faded as late as the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> These colonists started to be referred to as the *Lowland Slovaks*.

The Danubian region has always had a specific cultural position within traditional agrarian culture of the central and southern Europe. This geographical area had been taking shape since the prehistory as a transitional cultural zone where different national cultures could absorb various cultural elements and develop them further on. Apart from common features growing from common cultural basis, different ethnic areas gave birth to cultural specifics as well, that represent a proof of creative abilities of different ethnic communities in this multiethnic milieu.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Development of the scientific interest in Slovak minorities in central and southern Europe*

The research of Slovak minorities living abroad and their culture started to play a significant role in Slovak ethnology only at the end of 1950s. That development reflected the institutionalization and professionalization of science in Slovakia. And manifested itself mostly in various journal articles, that were not always of ethnological nature. More systematic work started as late as the 1970s, that is reflected in numerous bibliographical data comprising of book monographs, scientific proceedings, and studies as well as popular science articles.

From the institutional point of view the research of Slovak minorities was led by two research institutes – Matica slovenská and the present-day Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IE, SAS). As for the subject matter, the former focused primarily on ethnic history issues, while the latter concentrated on the matters related to traditional culture. And from the geographical point of view, the greatest attention was paid to former Yugoslavia and Hungary. In both cases, the research of local Slovak minorities was carried out not only by researchers from Slovakia but also by the experts from within the Slovak minorities living outside Slovakia. Somewhat less information was available on the Slovak minorities in Romania and Poland. There were minimal findings, or almost none, on the Slovak minority in Ukraine.

The fact that the research of traditional culture of Slovak minorities in central and southern Europe was not a subject of systematic scientific work at that time was caused by

<sup>2</sup> STRÁCKY 1966.

<sup>3</sup> FROLEC 1992: 13.

various political and financial reasons. Existing findings were mainly a result of individual interests and were scattered in different journals and collections of academic papers. The only attempt at a more complete picture was a monograph represented by R. Bednárík entitled *Slováci v Juhoslávii*.<sup>4</sup>

Various atlases, produced from 1997 to 2003 by the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, have offered the most complex portrayal of traditional culture of Slovak minorities in this region so far. In 1990, the Slovak Academy of Sciences in cooperation with Slovenská kartografia (Slovak cartography) published a major cartographic work *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* (EAS). During the preparation of this atlas, the authors were already planning to use the ethno-cartographic method also in the research of Slovak minorities in neighbouring countries. However, the extent of research work on the territory of Slovakia, difficulties stemming from the processing of collected data as well as financial problems had in the end prevented this part of the original project of the *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* to be completed. However, the gnoseological efficiency of the *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* aroused the interest of A. Divičanová and O. Krupa from the Slovak Research Institute in Békéscsaba (Hungary), which resulted in the preparation of methodically similar project in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.<sup>5</sup>

The Atlas initiated similar research in other countries of central and southern Europe that was in 1997–2002 institutionally supported by three scientific projects of the Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA) of Ministry of Education, Slovak Republic and Slovak Academy of Sciences. In Poland, Romania, Ukraine, Croatia, and Yugoslavia, the research was carried out by the members of the IE, SAS with the participation of researchers from other Slovak scientific institutions as well as by many members of Slovak minority organizations in the respective countries. Research materials are now available from sixty-seven Slovak localities in Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Croatia.<sup>6</sup>

Common as well as diverse cultural features of ethnic communities can be expressed very efficiently by the cartographic method. It represents relatively exact means of determination of scope of monitored cultural phenomena, which has been an ambition of ethnography since its inception. The research material was collected in a relatively short time by a uniform method and it offers the means of documenting the impact of the interaction among various majority socio-cultural systems on ethno-cultural phenomena in the environment of Slovak minorities and determines the level of their adaptation, acculturation or cultural stability.

<sup>4</sup> BEDNÁRIK 1964.

<sup>5</sup> *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku* (Békešská Čaba 1996).

<sup>6</sup> The obtained findings from these countries were processed into the following books: Benža, Mojmir, Slavkovský, Peter, Stoličná, Rastislava : *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku* (Békešská Čaba 1996), Benža, Mojmir, Slavkovský, Peter, Stoličná, Rastislava : *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Rumunsku* (Nadlac 1998), Benža, Mojmir, Slavkovský, Peter, Stoličná, Rastislava : *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Juhoslávii* (Báčsky Petrovec 2002), Benža, Mojmir, Slavkovský, Peter, Stoličná, Rastislava : *Ľudová kultúra Slovákov v Chorvátsku* (Našice 200), Benža, Mojmir, Slavkovský, Peter, Stoličná, Rastislava : *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Chorvátsku* and synthesis *Atlas tradičnej kultúry slovenských menšín v strednej a južnej Európe* (Nadlak 2006).



### *Traditional culture of Slovak colonists*

The ethnologists and historians studying Slovak enclaves in the Lowland (J. Sirácky, A. Divičanová, J. Botík and others) agree that *"the creation of compact, relatively homogenous and historically stable Slovak islands in the Lowland together with the prevailing peasant work and settling of colonists in rural environment with its typical social and economic isolation, can be viewed as decisive elements in the sense that ethnic and cultural developments of these islands frequently corresponded in many respects with the developments taking place in the original territory. That means that the prerequisites for continuous preservation of the basic elements of their ethnicity, i.e. »Slovakness«, which are considered to be the language, national consciousness (ethnonym) and various expressions of material and spiritual culture, were not disturbed in the lives of the Slovaks in the Lowland, even after their settling in their new homeland."*<sup>7</sup> The decisive factor for their further ethno-cultural development was that this process was taking place in the agrarian-rustic environment in relatively numerous enclaves.

In spite of the J. Botík's view quoted above, we must say that in regard to traditional culture the Slovaks settling in the Lowland had to overcome also a very important cultural break and had to be able to pass an examination in cultural adaptation.<sup>8</sup> Of great importance in this process was the experience of Slovak seasonal agricultural workers, who in the course of their frequent trips to the Lowland represented a certain cultural intermediate step in the process of adaptation of the Slovak colonists to the new environment. As the historical and ethnographical realities have shown, the Slovaks succeeded in passing this crucial examination and have been considered excellent farmers and good economists throughout the whole territory of southern Hungary, Vojvodina, and Slavonia.

This fact takes on a special significance when we consider the economico-social level of the area from which the Slovaks had come from. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Slovakia had been outside modern civilization movement in Europe and found herself on the periphery of its economic and social development. This historical trend of marginalization was also strengthened by agricultural revolution, which started in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and represented a qualitatively new development of European agriculture – a transition from traditional methods and technologically outdated techniques to the new ones: to an alternating system of crops, intense shed-breeding of cattle, the growing of fodder, potatoes and technical crops. The villages from which Slovak colonists originated could not respond to this challenge. Their cultural heritage in the area of agrarian culture consisted of traditional forms. That makes it even more imperative to appreciate their cultural vitality and ability to draw from the original traditional culture of Slovak regions that could be used in the new conditions as well as the ability to incorporate new elements in the multiethnic environment, the corresponding to the production conditions existing in their new homeland.

That is why it is possible to agree with the opinion that *"the members of ethnic minorities are important not only because they have been representatives of genetically varied national cultures but also because they have been preserving and developing various manifestations and values of these cultures in a specific way, different from the conditions in the original ethnic territory."*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Botík 1995: 433.

<sup>8</sup> FILOVÁ 1975; Botík 2007; ŠTOLC 1971; PODOLÁK 1975.

<sup>9</sup> Botík 1995: 432.

Ethnological research of material culture have shown that in the realm of the organization of material environment, the possibilities of economic and social growth as well as the acceleration of modernization processes are becoming much stronger factors than the tradition. As S. Švecová pointed out in her study,<sup>10</sup> no information of this kind has been preserved for as long as the period of three consecutive generations. The information on the phenomena of the material culture that stops to fulfil their actual functions in everyday life is very quickly forgotten. A. Divičanová points out that commensurately with this phenomenon the traditional culture loses its position in the cultural identification of an ethnic community.<sup>11</sup>

The development of threshing methods used by the Slovaks in Vojvodina and Croatia can serve as an example of these processes. The Slovak colonists came mainly from those parts of Slovakia where flails represented a main threshing tool. A method of trampling the crops by the cattle, so-called stamping, is a technique, that was imported into Slovakia from the Balkans via Hungary. Southern Slovakia represents the northern boundary of its occurrence in Europe. M. Gavazzi views this method to be one of the manifestations of the Mediterranean culture.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore only natural that the Lowland Slovaks had the opportunity to become familiar with it as with a widely spread and used method and to adopt it. However, its usage ceased to exist among all ethnic communities in the Lowland because of the introduction and the availability of machine threshers (*vršalice*), that ethnically unified this part of agrarian culture as early as after World War I.

Slovak villages in the Lowland consisted of an agrarian population that was tied for a long time to one place due to their bond with the land, while living in a multiethnic environment. This fact went hand in hand with the progressive process of agriculture modernization, which kept drawing agrarian cultures of the Lowland Slovaks and the members of other ethnic communities in this region more closely together. The picture of local agrarian culture in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is therefore a result of this ethno-cultural development in soil-climatic, economic, and social conditions of the life of the Lowland population.

### Conclusion

The process of cultural adaptation of the Slovak colonists to new living conditions in the Lowland was not one with cultural destruction; it was happening in an open cultural system and on a rational basis. The transfer of cultural information was selective, able to adapt to the needs, and to cope with new social and cultural environment. In this process, especially the material culture of the Slovaks kept losing its role in their cultural identification as an ethnic community. The result of the cultural dialogue that the Lowland Slovaks initiated with the majority community and other ethnic minorities was a common material culture within which only the terminology preserved its ethnic potential. Favorable economic and social conditions in the Lowland helped the Slovak colonists to overcome very quickly the differences between their original material culture and the one, which they had to build in order to organize their new life environment.

<sup>10</sup> ŠVECOVÁ 1990.

<sup>11</sup> DIVIČANOVÁ 1994.

<sup>12</sup> FROLEC 1992: 15.

The Lowland Slovaks adjusted themselves to new conditions also in terms of building their homes by using unfired and burnt bricks instead of using archaic building methods and materials, by using burnt roof tiles as roof covering instead of the straw, and by adapting the layout of the houses as well as of the outbuildings to their Lowland environment. Changes also took place in traditional clothing, which acquired very significant urban character already as early as in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This urbanization did not consist only of new types of factory-made materials for making the clothes but also involved changes in the styling, in particular, that of upper garments. The modifications in the diet of the Lowland Slovaks can be also judged in a positive manner. Better economic conditions enabled them to use a greater amount and variety of foodstuffs in their diet. Their food was therefore not only more nutritional but also more varied. The Slovaks learnt to make use of new foodstuffs (corn, tomatoes, pepper, and meat products) that gradually made their way also into their agrarian culture and terminology. Their food repertory, however, preserved many of traditional meals coming from their cultural heritage that the Slovak housewives had brought with them from Slovakia.<sup>13</sup> On an everyday basis, they kept interacting with the members of Hungarian, Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian and other ethnic groups. *"Their contacts were mutually urgent, and from the survival point of view inevitable and profitable. Requirements of the new environment undoubtedly came into conflict with production methods and social traditions kept alive in their old homeland. Many of those, therefore, acquired in the new environment only the value of a tradition."*<sup>14</sup>

This process of mutual influence in the spheres of material, social, and spiritual life of the Slovak emigrants is viewed by J. Botík as acculturation, or even transculturation since this process could also be multidirectional. In terms of qualitative line – adaptation course – acculturation – assimilation, I would consider the term "adaptation" most appropriate to express the development of the material culture of the Slovaks in this multicultural environment. The adaptation of an ethnic community to modified life conditions without changing their cultural and ethnic nature is understood as the ability of cultural adaptation. In another article J. Botík himself states that the Lowland Slovaks as a community were characterized by several common features that can be best labelled as *peasant world*.<sup>15</sup> This is related to the fact that the Slovak emigrants heading for the Lowland came almost exclusively from the peasant population. The agriculture remained their main occupation and main source of living even in the new environment. They preserved all elements of the agrarian culture, which were compatible with their new way of farming. The introduction of a new crop into the sowing procedures and adoption of new forms of already known agricultural tools that had been more suitable for the local soil and climatic conditions, I consider to be only quantitative changes – the ability to adapt to new production conditions.

Tradition as a qualitative category of cultural values, concentrated in collective consciousness of people and passed down from one generation to another is an essential prerequisite for the existence of every ethnic community. In spite of that, the Slovaks in

<sup>13</sup> BENŽA 2002; STOLČNÁ 2002.

<sup>14</sup> ŠTOLC 1971: 67.

<sup>15</sup> BOTÍK 2007: 179.

their minority environment were quickly forgetting the information on cultural phenomena, which lost their real function in everyday life. In order to avoid the tradition acting as a conservative force in the social organism, the new generation selects from it those cultural phenomena that in terms of their lifestyle correspond to their expectations.

Every period of the social development presents new ideals in terms of values, which then the people try to attain.<sup>16</sup> This dynamic cultural process is based on the adaptation of cultural values to the needs and the potential of a society, in which they are being created and which, at the same time, they help to shape. Cultural values change and develop in their complexity and sophistication by means of innovations that can be of two kinds: either they are being created within a culture or they come from the outside as cultural borrowings. L. Pospíšil notes that the innovations formed within a culture are considered in general the main factors of culture development, while the cultural borrowings are only regarded to be the culture's secondary source of growth. In reality, both kinds of innovations are equally important for the culture's development.<sup>17</sup>

Cultural diversity is a proof of human civilization's ability to adapt to actual life conditions. For the life's sustainability, it is as important as the diversity of nature. However, thanks to nature, historical and economico-social conditions the cultures of different nations became interlinked by mutual influence and display many common manifestations. Even though of the fact that the cultural values of traditional peasant communities, passed down for generations, represented the basis of cultural diversity in the past, the cultural convergence with other ethnic communities was also taking place. This was the case of the Lowland Slovaks who in the multi-ethnic environment of the Lowland had to create a life model based on the cultural foundations brought with them from Slovakia so that it would offer them a real chance to survive in the new conditions too.

The Lowland Slovaks succeeded in reaching a high level of cultural literacy – the ability to exist in a given material and social environment. They were able to use efficiently in practice the cultural competences already acquired in the original Slovak environment in the multiethnic and multicultural environment of the Lowland. They were involved in all essential activities that helped to meet material, social, and spiritual needs of individuals as well as whole social groups. The culture itself, however, cannot rely only on its past, it must keep renewing itself with new creativity. Cultural heritage is merely its precondition. It is the creativity that can ensure the adaptation of this form of cultural identity to new material and social conditions.

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# FADING REGIONAL BORDERS? THE VIEWPOINT OF RURAL ECONOMY AND WAY OF LIFE

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**Abstract:** The paper discusses the rural economic factors of the regional differences and their fading that started roughly with the second agricultural revolution and got an impetus with collectivization and – after re-privatization – with the decline of agrarian activities and arising of new forms of consumption. Thus the paper analyzes on one hand the process of uniformization accompanied by the spreading of globalized – or at least nationalized – patterns of lifestyles that are no longer connected to the local resources: for example the technologies allow the production of new plants, and the trade allows new ways of consumption. On the other hand deals with the new forms of regionalism that affected the economic life of different communities which aimed at renewing their relations to local resources both internally and externally by selling the elements of their surroundings and way of life: the ecological and regional reforms emerged in last years had in their focus the use of local resources, the preservation of local types of production, the awareness of local values and cultures, consequently the regional groups started to reformulate again their differences. My aim is to find and to analyze the main aspects of these processes.

**Keywords:** man–nature relationship, economic activities, regional differences, uniformization, regionalism, green consciousness, commoditization

## *Introduction*

In Hungarian ethnography, and also in most European ethnological schools, like the Scandinavian and German, the regional differences of culture had constituted an important approach for long periods.<sup>1</sup> Papers of this approach dealt with the problem of ethnic groups, the cultural borders, the diffusion of different cultural elements, the mapping of differences etc. No doubt that these differences existed starting with folk dresses, housing types, customs, religious life, dietary traditions, forms of agrarian activities, cultivated plants, animal husbandry, occupations and crafts. If one looks at the previous enumeration, one can easily observe that a part (or even the majority) of these cultural phenomena is re-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ANDRÁSFALVY 1980; FEJÓS 2002: 70.

lated somehow to economic activities based on the relation of men to their natural environment: the simple technologies prior to second agricultural revolution allowed only certain economic activities depending on natural, geographical and climatologic conditions, thus the different groups living in different environments had different economic life which was reflected in their way of life and material culture.

Taking these assumptions into account in this paper I would like to analyze some aspects of the differences from the view of economic activities through both historical and contemporary examples presenting meantime the changes of these differences that occurred in the last 200–300 years. The framework of the study is the economic life of the Carpathian Basin in the 18–20<sup>th</sup> century, however the main focus will be on the fields I know, some Transylvanian rural settlements' life and changes in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Analyzing these aspects and periods I focus on one hand on the merges of different economic regions and on the other hand on the re-appearance of some aspects related to economic life that are used to reformulate the unique character of given regions.

I consider these aspects useful, because the natural environment intertwined with economic activities constituted an important part of the regional division of the folk culture, determining to a greater or lesser degree the lifestyle and material culture of a certain group. It is no doubt that the simple technologies with limited set of tools limit the exploitation of the environment augmenting the dependency from the nature. To reformulate Maurice Godelier's suggestion about the complexity of the structures of production: the simpler the technology, the greater the dependency.<sup>2</sup> With these limited technologies human groups were forced to develop their capacities to use a certain environment, thus the environmental diversity resulted in cultural differences, and this could be true not just regarding hunters-gatherers, but also for peasant societies in Europe. The Hungarian ethnographer, Béla Gunda, who carried out fieldwork in 1940s among mountain people in Transylvania on the man–nature relation, described that according to locals' memories at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century the *moři* cultivated regularly only the onion, the other plants (fruits, berries and other plants) used in their kitchen and household were wild coming from gathering, creating a peculiar dietary system, but also describes that with rangers, teachers and foreign workers (Italians) new patterns had been spread and cultivated plants replaced gathered ones particularly among wealthier peasants.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The former environment of the Carpathian Basin, its economic role and change*

At the end of the Turkish era in the Carpathian Basin the cultivated areas alternated on one hand with large, swampy inundation basins, covered with moors, lakes, reeds and forests and on the other hand *puszta* (waste, uninhabited land), and in the mountains with deep, often undivided forests. The struggle between man and nature that started under the Romans and began again at the end of the middle ages in the Carpathian Basin seemingly ended with the victory of the nature, creating a wide range of varied environments with sometimes and some places minimum human intervention. In the given circumstances the resident groups adapted to their environment and learnt how to use it for their purposes,

<sup>2</sup> GODELIER 1981: 24.

<sup>3</sup> GUNDA 1966: 38–41.

and how to extract the required energy from the nature mixing the cultivation and animal husbandry with different gathering activities, fishing and hunting. The mixed economic activities and the way of life were closely attached to the nature owing to the simple technologies and limited set of tools, reflecting not just in the economy of the Turkish-occupied territories (where the lack of population decreased human intervention), but in the lifestyle of unoccupied territories as well. These mixed patterns of life (that were to be found not just in occupations, crafts and diet, but in the clothing and housing) differed from place to place depending on the natural resources available in a certain place and constituted a basis of what we would call now regional culture. The Szeklers<sup>4</sup> preferred as raw material for their buildings the timber, meantime at the central part of Transylvania – known as *Mezőség* – the houses were built using the mud in various ways. These differences resulted in peculiar features observable even today – obviously, if one looks at houses built before WW II.

And though the market played a role in their life linking the different regions, as long as it was a sectional market with defined products and limited range where the change was culturally set,<sup>5</sup> this change of goods didn't lead to the fading of the regional borders. Summarizing the above ideas one can see that people's foodstuff and raw material came basically from their near surroundings consequently as the environment changed from place to place, the ways of life of the different groups altered too.

But something happened as the Carpathian Basin had been re-conquered: the struggle between men and nature was re-opened and local groups formerly with environmentally embedded economic activities started to move on the nature–culture axis towards culture. As the demand for saleable foodstuffs all around Europe increased, the pressure on producers with more or less self-sufficient economy became greater, and Eastern-Europe started to be transformed into a large grain-field being included in world economic system as agrarian region. The newly returned landlords recognized the salient chances to be part of an economic process that might fulfill their demands for expensive manufactured products from west, and tried to increase their share of the yields. One way to reach such a high aim was to re-conquer as much land as possible from nature through drainage, and deforestation, through changing the original vegetation cover.<sup>6</sup> The landlords expanded their estates at the expense of the peasantry, so the latter expanded its arable fields at the expense of the nature. The social struggle got an environmental side being reinforced by central reforms and bans of the Habsburgs who encouraged the production of potato, maize, and tried to regulate the deforestation. The new plants slowly but surely found their place in the popular nourishment displacing former and often local foods.

In the capitalist era, after emancipation of serfs, between 1848 and 1914 (or 1945, till the communist takeover) the process started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century continued with more impetus and almost every possible land suitable for tillage had been transformed in cultivated soil leading to less dependency from natural environment and food gathering. The channelization and deforestation gained momentum in these times, and the landscape changed

<sup>4</sup> A group living in mountainous regions in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin.

<sup>5</sup> EGYED 1981: 210–212; WOLF 1966: 40.

<sup>6</sup> ANDRÁSFALVY 2007.



radically: the system of lakes, the moors, and the forests, the untouched vegetation disappeared gradually weakening the importance of fishing, hunting and gathering, diminishing the role of the local environment in subsistence. The social struggle also continued: as part of a long process the upper strata tried to vindicate the right of hunting for themselves, the fishing moved towards poaching as it was regulated and peasants forgot the old skills connected to natural resources.<sup>7</sup>

Beside all these the agricultural revolution started in Western-Europe in the 17–18<sup>th</sup> century characterized by new agricultural inventions, new methods and new crops made its influence felt stronger and stronger: even if it was a slow progression, the mechanization of agriculture did not stop as the cash crop overwhelmed self-sufficiency and food-producers could afford to buy new tools and machines that were more adapted for cultivation.<sup>8</sup> The new agricultural professional knowledge and the new plants that appeared or spread in this period reinforced the transition and the withdrawal from the natural environment, as the better crop results and the varied new cultivated plants diminished the role of the gathered food so often used as emergency food and also in usual diets. Regarding new machinery, one cannot forget the new, iron-made plough that replaced the old one (a wooden-made tool, partially mounted with iron) and made possible the breaking of new soils thus expanding the cultivated land at the expense of the wild ones. And if the new plough involved new lands in agricultural production, the sowing machine based on seed drill and the horse-drawn hoe made this production more effective, resulting in much-improved crop yields improving also producers' position on the market: if you produce marketable goods, you earn money that can be spent for additional equipment. It is ironic and shows the effects of international market that the extension of arable lands completed at the fall of the European grain-boom<sup>9</sup> when the cheaper wheat from Americas and Australia arrived to European markets beating down the prices and causing strikes among agrarian wage-workers.<sup>10</sup>

The market in the 19<sup>th</sup> century got more and more importance even if in some regions it was an indirect effect, because large strata of peasantry were not able to sell or buy regularly. But the expanding market linked more and more communities making its influence felt in two ways: from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we have information about farms that produced food directly for western markets.<sup>11</sup> On the other side the consumption was influenced as well, the goods made in factories slowly and gradually displaced the home-made products. In this context one cannot disregard the endeavour of capitalism to direct every service and product to be sold and bought on the market with no direct change of goods between groups. The cheap and uniform products started to displace the hand-made ones, so craftsman communities dissolved turning into proletarians or peasants. It is the example of Torockó<sup>12</sup>, that after a flourishing period entered in a decline owing to cheap industrial iron and railway network. To sum it up: the market and the railway linked distant places and communities, altered and internationalized production and competition, spread new

<sup>7</sup> JAKSA 1998

<sup>8</sup> BALOGH 1972; EGYED 1981: 212–220; VARGA 1972.

<sup>9</sup> BORSOS 2003: 117.

<sup>10</sup> GUNST 1998: 438; WOLF 1982: 312–313.

<sup>11</sup> BALOGH 1980.

<sup>12</sup> A miner and ironworker community in the Western Romanian Carpathians.

patterns of consumption and new products, and delivered better technologies rendering local features less important.

It is no doubt, however, that the capitalism and the self-regulating market did not change entirely the former differences: most of the peasants continued to rely on environment, ran their farms as the environment made it possible, and ate what they managed to extract from nature with those rudimentary technologies. Though in the 19<sup>th</sup> century they came under markets influence, they – and even the smallholders and sharecroppers – strove to self-sufficiency in food-consumption until collectivization. Moreover, the capitalism created new differences: the remote, mountainous regions for example still remained closely attached to their environment in much senses. They were not able to engage in commodity production continuing their subsistence economy and as a consequence they could not afford products from markets that would require cash. These differences are conspicuous if one compares the rural Saxon regions with the Szekler ones in Transylvania: the Saxons living in the center and around cities were engaged in market production and the Szeklers from the mountains could reach only the petty-commodity producer position. Thus the Szekler communities with lesser cash reserves were forced to apply technologies that did not require cash so the natural resources and the old patterns for example in housing remained prevalent.

On the other hand the increase of the urban populace meant at the same time an augmented demand for special products and around cities or near to transportation lines appeared communities specialized on vegetable or fruit production.<sup>13</sup> But in these cases was not only the environment to make this progress possible: beyond man–nature relationship one has to regard the newly arisen market-based relations between consumers and producers in which nature (and gathering, fishing and hunting) lost its role in livelihood and shifted towards leisure creating no longer a basis for regional differences. The influence of the natural environment was decreasing, contrary to the economic and social environment.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Radical changes – the collective farms and the socialist modernization*

Although we know that the socialist system in Romania encountered at the beginning with lack of resources thus relied on hand-work and old, hand-made and wooden-made tools as the industrial production increased – the Romanian socialist system putting a special stress on steel industry and machine production<sup>15</sup> – the collective farms were equipped with new, more effective machines (tractors, sowing machines, hoes, harvester-threshers and so forth) which led again to increased human intervention in the nature. The new machines allowed new plants for production and thus seemingly better extraction of energies from nature. Beside the new machinery and new plants that had appeared in production and altered the landscape, the shift on nature–culture axis was augmented by another special factor: in order to assure supplies for urban workers and to reduce the autonomy of rural population, the socialist leaders planned the agricultural production on every level defining from the center given quotas for every county, every commune and every collective

<sup>13</sup> See BÁLINT 1962; BOROSS 1973.

<sup>14</sup> BORSOS 2003: 117

<sup>15</sup> VERDERY 1983: 39–48; VERDERY 1996: 26.

farm not taking into account the special features of the environment. As István Rév stated regarding to this period, every collective farm could have been seen as a duplicate of the national or county-level structures.<sup>16</sup> Thus collective farms were under double pressure: they had to complete the fixed quotas and they had to complete these quotas for varied plants determined from the center. The surroundings had been changed radically and at the same time each commune's agricultural structure became similar with a lack of local features. The situation became more complex as the socialist power controlling all the resources limited the access of the people to the natural resources: the forests had been taken away assuring no longer the raw materials for housing, the hunting became a privilege of the party members.

But the transformation did not consist just of changes in production: in her book about the life and economy of the rural socialist Romania Katherine Verdery at some point analyzes the budget structure of villagers who became collective farm workers and/or peasant-workers with partial food production and incomes from wages at the same time. The author points out that the new incomes – because the food in a great proportion was produced by each family for their own consumption – were spent among others (educational expenditure, bribery) for building new houses and acquiring new furnishing and also new equipment.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, these new products had been shaped in socialist aesthetics uniformly spread in all the country, thus the differences that existed in housing based on different raw materials and different lifestyles gradually became blurred as the faces of villages transformed.

#### *The present-day situation*

In the spring of 2009 together with the students of the Department of Hungarian Ethnology and Anthropology I launched a small project to describe the structure of some smallholders' households in different settlements – I was curious if there were any similarities/differences between the households' economic activities (including production and consumption) of different regions from Western Transylvania (lowlands) to its eastern parts (hills and mountains). Although the research hasn't been finished yet, the results called my attention again to a phenomenon that I met with few times before: students found several rural households where the cultivation or animal husbandry did not exceed the level of leisure- or hobby-farming. These families – although living in villages and owning plots just good for food production – reduced their activities saying that if they have calculated all the costs (the price of machineries, chemicals and even their work) the products on the market would be available for a more favourable price. Though I cannot formulate a final statement on the percentages, among families with large autarchic economic activities – including sometimes even the bread-baking as a symbol of peasant independence – we found quite often families (and young families with labor force) with no such activities, and families that renounced even to the production of vegetables. “Why should we make dirty our hands, watch if the rain comes or not, and struggle with the soil? – they asked. We simply go to the village store and buy everything we need at a better price.” To polarize the

<sup>16</sup> Rév 1996: 142.

<sup>17</sup> VERDERY 1983: 61–62.

situation: in the livelihood of these people – though being rural population – the environment doesn't play a role: they sell their labor force on the market and with earned incomes they buy everything from the market where they can find products originated from all over the world. They forgot how to use their natural resources in regular ways as alternatives for cultivated foods. Thus the self regulating market that started to make its influence felt in 19<sup>th</sup> century with the changes of the post-socialist transition displaced self-sufficiency though at the beginning of re-privatization the most post-peasants had been engaged in a sort of autarchic agriculture. But the economic structures and agrarian politics hadn't allowed development, and the food proved to be cheaper on the market, so the agricultural activities of smallholders decreased and finally neither their production, nor consumption can be depicted with regional features. On the other side one could find the families of favoured regions with large farms where the agrarian activities (large-scale grain-, potato- or dairy-production) still constitute a basis for living. Nevertheless, their consumption also shows the unifying effects of the market: they buy noticeable quantities of food from the stores, their nutrition distances from the local resources and their houses are built following some new, non-regional patterns.

If one looks at the houses built in the last decade in Transylvanian villages hardly can link the new buildings with regional patterns. A house built like this can be built everywhere: the incomes are realized with selling their work (in the case of agrarian and non-agrarian entrepreneurs: products) on the market, the raw materials are bought with that income on the market, and the patterns come – in my view – from a more uniform popular taste with less observable regional borders. These houses are meant to display the owner's fortune, his taste and aspirations, and his capacity for catching up with certain patterns.<sup>18</sup>

I know, I gave a little bit somber – and meantime simplifying – view of the changes and the present situation despite we know there are still regional differences. The diet customs, the cuisines do not change overnight, neither the centuries old economic behavior. The great transformation couldn't have been completed and led to something that could be labeled (extending Wallerstein's and Wolf's ideas) "dual economy" typical for peripheries with groups and activities integrated by the market and on the other side socially and environmentally embedded activities with weak or no ties to market<sup>19</sup>. While their work and consumption is integrated (they are workers and consumers), their independent production is not supported or facilitated by any means. Nevertheless nowadays there are former peasant families with no food production, but there are still families trying to avoid the market. People always have looked for better opportunities, if they needed, they offered resistance – to capitalism, to socialism and to market again – preserving some control over their lives and some peculiarities of their livelihood.<sup>20</sup> During socialism food shortages were com-

<sup>18</sup> SZABÓ 2009.

<sup>19</sup> There is no room to explain longer, but it is worth a footnote that the other approach (that can be called market-based regionalism) to interpret the dual economy is related to the access to markets, since capitalist markets have created new differences based on resources and agriculture: there are some regions (or families in some regions) where due to favourable conditions agrarian activities afford affluence, consequently new patterns of consumption. The question is however how these new differences are displayed. WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel 1974: 18; WOLF 1982: 307, 353.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. SCOTT 1998: 127–130.

bined with self-providing that included cultivation, animal keeping and gathering. This is the dual economy of socialism: in the collective farms the agriculture was mechanized meantime the activities on the household plots reminded to ancient methods.

But despite their craftiness people are also vulnerable – as we know capitalism and the nationalizing states sometimes together, sometimes separated by different interests encounter with autonomous communities trying to render them loyal subjects of power.<sup>21</sup> On economic level this can be done by uprooting and linking them to the centers augmenting their dependency from external resources and services. Regarding the smallholders' production: for the local farmers in Transylvanian villages nowadays it is made more difficult or they are banned to sell their products to their community thus they are forced to compete with greater producers on market or to close their farms becoming wage-workers and consumers on a global market. The dairy producers for example who usually bred 1 to 3 cows for their own use and for some profit are forced to modernize their smallholdings or they aren't allowed to sell their product.

*The rediscovery of differences and the new regional ideologies*

Two intertwining phenomena, however, counter-fight the effects of global market and nationalizing state: the first is the regionalism so often used in trendy European political discourses and the second is the ecological and cultural reform (green consciousness) with its constituents. Thus I try to grasp some aspects of the newly formed and branded regions – that is, the practical side of the folk culture used as basis for delimitation of regions in a decentralizing climate of the European and local politics. Zoltán Fejős called the attention in a paper that new regionalisms to a greater or lesser degree often use the old historical or geographical regions in order to create their basis using also the elements of the regional folk culture to represent the regional identity.<sup>22</sup> The other aspect is that regionalism is enhanced by new patterns of consumption that could include the preservation of ecological and cultural diversity, stress on using local resources, the preservation of local types of production, the awareness of local values and cultures and so forth. Starting from the slow food movements that encounter the effects of the fast food through green and landscape reforms having in their focus the preservation of old housing types, the replanting and reintroducing of different ancient grains and fruits, and different animals that are believed to fit more in the environment until the local cooperatives trying to attract consumers from super-markets the process has a complex structure. This complexity is increased sometimes by tourism in which the local, the authentic, the different from mass consumption is overvalued – and consequently overpaid.<sup>23</sup> Tourism creates a breeding ground for localities whatever they would consist of as far as they are saleable. Obviously, these regions do not correspond entirely to the former ones and do not mean the rebirth of the forgotten economic patterns or way of life, but the regional politics could give an impetus to localities to be reformulated and branded bringing the locals closer again to their environment. Perhaps, it is needless to emphasize again that beside man–nature relationship the social and economic factors are at least as important as the natural environment.

<sup>21</sup> APPADURAI 1998: 178–199.

<sup>22</sup> FEJŐS 2002: 80.

<sup>23</sup> And let me just take no notice of tourism as an element that spreads transnational patterns and blurs the regional differences.



In Transylvanian settlements there are a lot of such endeavours and events that aim to preserve (or sometimes to invent) something special and unique claiming the label of authenticity. Among these new phenomena there are several within which some natural peculiarities, special elements of the local cuisines or special crafts constitute the starting element of a local festival and local branding. I'll enumerate just few of them focusing on Hungarian communities: Kommandó/Comandău – mushroom, Torja/Turia – polenta with cheese, Gyergyószentmiklós/Gheorgheni – cranberry, Varság/Vărșag – raspberry, Farkaslaka/Lupeni – charcoal, Parajd/Praid – stuffed cabbage, Décse/Decea – cherry, Kis-Küküllő/Târnava Mică, Szilágyság/Sălaj – wine (and wine-road), wine-contest, Kalotaszentkirály/Sâncraiu – rose-hips<sup>24</sup> (see the map). In many cases one can observe a shift from production to consumption meaning that beside products (that in some cases are saleable to a lesser extent), the production process itself undergoes a change of commoditization and the experience of taking part in something unique and authentic is sold as commodity: the people of countryside produce no more food, but sceneries.<sup>25</sup>

Some of these festivals are organized by communities that are or would like to be engaged also in rural tourism targeting mainly tourists from Hungary and to a smaller degree from other regions of Romania (outside Transylvania). The festivals use a local product (or a product which is believed to be local, or labeled so) and try to display the regional or local identity. But local festivals that consist of various elements among them folk ones cannot be seen just as simple and innocent events to fight against patterns of mass consumption and cannot be regarded as communities' victory over global flows<sup>26</sup> or they are not just the means to enhance the local ties and identities by presenting some products and folk groups: very often they are scenes of the symbolic struggle of different elite groups and/or they constitute a basis for legitimacy. Besides these festive occasions there are some other projects to call the attention on local values linked to natural resources, like a project for preserving old houses in Csík/Ciuc region (including the use of raw materials and building types), re-launching the tradition of the local mineral baths and opening a mineral water road in the same region, or to reinforce the production, processing and selling of local (both cultivated and gathered) fruits in Udvarhely/Odorhei region. From our point of view the main problem connected to these programs is still about their effect and use on everyday level.

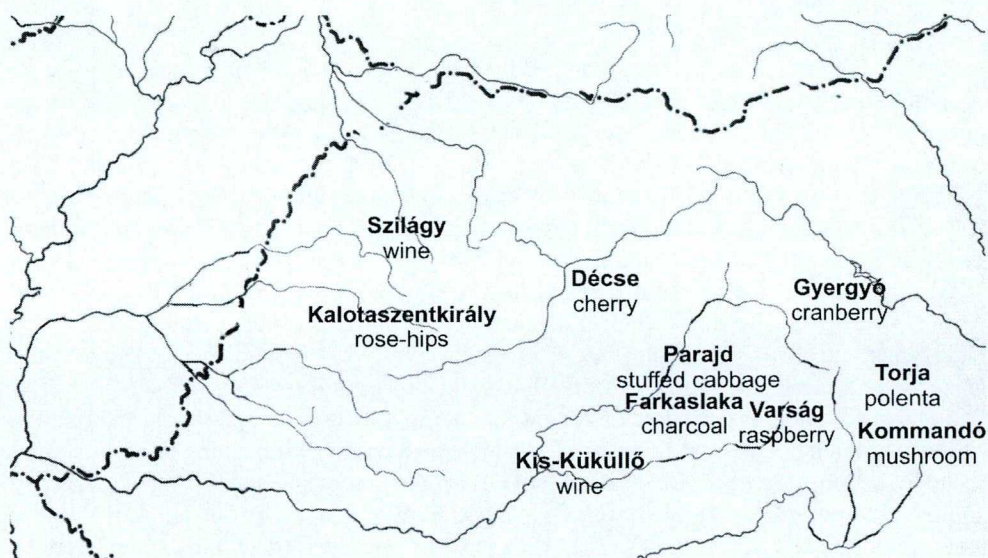
Yet, my worrying question is to what extent these aspirations of local or non-local elite groups, the political discourses or the discourses regarding the new patterns of consumption mean direct effects on the everyday life of the people living in certain areas. I wonder whether everyday people can afford the healthy lifestyle and if they can afford it, whether they want to follow it. As I said, the local communities do not change quickly and a pattern once admitted can hardly be replaced. Let's cast a glance at vernacular architecture again. Specialists always complain – understandable in a manner – on the new patterns that changed the old forms, structures of houses and used raw material, but they are often dis-

<sup>24</sup> The names in Hungarian/Romanian and the newly branded products.

<sup>25</sup> HEIKKILÄ 2003: 265.

<sup>26</sup> COLLOREDO-MANSFELD 2005: 222.

posed to forget that a house and the auxiliary buildings are not only the places of living and livelihood but the imprints of the local taste, local pressure and local symbolic struggle.<sup>27</sup> And if the old patterns of production and consumption, the traditional forms of houses cannot be perceived as battlefields for local power, the new patterns surely can. The capacity to spend money for different products, including foodstuff – working against of the old and still strong pattern of separate self-sufficient smallholding – is often seen as one of the surest signs of one's fortune, even if the big, beautiful, comfortable (in one word: modern) house leads the list. Ironically, often the handicraft activities (pottery, woodcarving, basket weaving) finding a niche on the market and embedding in cultural tourism result in houses presented earlier. Thus the effects and counter-effects work simultaneously: a study showed that in a village of rural tourism the guests ate the authentic products (bacon, cheese, boiled eggs, home-baked bread and onion), while the hosts consumed food bought in the village store.<sup>28</sup>



The map of Transylvania showing some Hungarian localities with new local brands and festivals.

### *Concluding remarks*

I hope I have succeeded to demonstrate the complexity of regional differences connected to economy and way of life. The local groups moved away gradually from their natural environment which was altered and integrated in culture as arable land, nevertheless depending on regions some features of environmentally embedded activities have been maintained.<sup>29</sup> But the general way of changes led to vanishing of the differences

<sup>27</sup> SZABÓ 2009.

<sup>28</sup> DANIEL 2009: 89–90.

<sup>29</sup> BORSOS 2000: 181.

connected to natural diversity due to multiple effects from which I highlighted the new technologies, and the capitalism and socialism<sup>30</sup> that directed every service to the market or to be centralized and aimed at rendering people dependent wage workers and consumers. Notwithstanding, some elements of diversity in Transylvanian rural economic activities persisted and the new ideologies reformulated them in different level. But it remains a final query to what extent these new patterns exert an influence over everyday level, and this question drives us to a more general one: how do the cultural patterns are shaped and spread? In my view the local ways of life are more and more under the influence of a national or even global popular taste that can hardly be regionally localized. These new tastes are shaped also by demands: while in traditional peasant communities demands were culturally limited, nowadays these communities adapt newer and newer demands being supported by the general influences of markets. And one could raise questions regarding the ways these new ways of regionalism get close to everyday people through these new market-based logics.

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<sup>30</sup> It is worth mentioning that not only the economic changes of the last centuries but also the administrative regulations contributed to the re-shaping or disappearing of regional borders (see FEJÓS 2002, HEIKKILÄ 2003).

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# WINE DISTRICTS, WINE REGIONS, VINEYARDS – THE CONSTRUCTION AND REPRESENTATION OF BORDERS IN THE HUNGARIAN WINE CULTURE

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**Abstract:** The article attempts to give an overview of how the different types of borders in Hungarian vine and wine culture can be manifested. In addition to the borders separating the different wine regions, there can also be borders within the individual vine-growing areas. The central purpose of the delimitation of a wine area is to establish a distinctive identity for the wines produced within it, and provide a means whereby the provenance of those wines can be guaranteed. The question and problem of drawing, strengthening and representing the borders can certainly throw light on new aspects of the grape and wine culture that can be regarded as related to the interests of vine-growing communities and to conflicts between them.

**Keywords:** Borders, wine, vineyard, wine regions, Hungary

Anyone who tries to find their bearings in today's world of wines will quickly notice that he or she constantly comes across different kinds of borders, basically intended to distinguish the wines from each other. Nowadays, in connection with the wine market that is being reshaped under the influence of globalisation, there is more and more discussion about the contrast between wines of the Old World and the New World and of the borderlines between them that can take various forms and at the same time represent a different philosophy of wine-making. Over the centuries the borderlines that separated and still separate the different wine regions from each other took shape in a special way. In the case of Hungary we can see that interest groups active in the areas and joined together in different communities are striving to divide up the wine-producing areas into smaller units. This can be explained in several different ways. In the majority of cases the drawing of borders is aimed at protecting the origin and quality, creating an individual image, and in this way at serving economic interests. However, within wine-producing countries there are not only borders that separate the different wine regions. They can also be found within wine-producing areas and their creation may serve various interests. They can express public administration purposes, but we must not forget, for example, the borders drawn to protect



crops that separate different units of protection and can be regarded as temporary because it is only prior to the harvest that they become visible.

The central purpose of the delimitation of a wine area is to establish a distinctive identity for the wines produced within it, and provide a means whereby the provenance of those wines can be guaranteed. It is based primarily upon the assumption that different environments give rise to wines of different character. Classification of various wine estates and vineyards is in general a recent phenomenon, dictated by the increasingly sophisticated wine market. At the heart of this legislation was the establishment of a specific area from which winegrowers were able to obtain higher prices for their wines compared with those produced elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

In our study we attempt to throw light on the connections between Hungarian grape and wine culture and the tracing and representation of different types of borders related to it. In the case of wine culture the borders can mark not only the areas of the wine districts and regions and the individual vineyards, but can also express differences between wine consumers who, belonging to different social strata, drink different types and kinds of wine. We are also interested in the creation of borders inside the wine regions, which has become very important in the last few years.

From our viewpoint the creation of the borders raises many interesting questions because they convey basic information about contradictions, different economic and market interests or even the representation of identity. Some of these borders can also be grasped visually with the help of a material aid. Others exist only symbolically and remain invisible for the outsider.

## CLASSIFICATION OF HUNGARIAN WINE REGIONS

Both the topographical and climatic conditions, as well as the soil in the greater part of the territory of historical Hungary are suitable for the cultivation of grapes. Various regions within the Carpathian Basin became *historical wine regions*, producing quality wine as a commodity. Over the centuries their size and number changed and was modified due to historical, public administration, political, economic, natural and ecological factors.<sup>2</sup> Beside the historical wine regions there are also *local grape-growing areas* generally serving to meet the growers' own needs. On the basis of the differing natural conditions, 19th–20th century geographical, historical and ethnological literature discussing viticulture and viniculture in the Carpathian Basin often makes a sharp distinction between the wine regions in the *mountainous and hilly areas* and on the *sandy plains (Great Plain)*, regarding the growing areas, and the quality and reputation of the wines. The wines from the hilly regions are

<sup>1</sup> Since the classic antiquity, wines from certain regions tended to be called after the place of their production. In the 18th century the most well-known legal vineyard delimitation was introduced in the Douro valley of northern Portugal. The aim of this legislation was to obtain higher prices for wines produced in the specific area in the Upper Douro Valley. In the 19th century the most famous geographical delimitation emerged in France. The classification of the wines of the Médoc, and Lavalley's classification of the wines of the Cote d'Or dated back from 1855. The French taking a first step in 1905 towards the creation of a national system of wine control based on the delimitation of areas of origin. Numerous systems were also developed in Germany, notably the German wine law of 1930. UNWIN 1996: 276–283, 311–325.

<sup>2</sup> ÉGETŐ 2001: 529.

described as being of excellent quality, full-bodied and rich in aroma, and those from the Great Plain as light table wines.

A wine region could be named for an important grape- and wine-producing settlement (e.g. Tokaj, Eger), or a larger geographical area (e.g. *Érmellék, Szerémség*), or the county or public administration unit (e.g. *Zala, Tolna*).<sup>3</sup> A typical geographical name referring to a wine region is *Hegyalja*, which is now identified with the Tokaj vine-growing region, while earlier it was used to designate a number of areas (e.g. *Aradi-, Pozsonyi-, Baranyai-, Erdélyi-Hegyalja*).<sup>4</sup>

The first and for a long while the only wine region in Hungary with a precisely defined area was Tokaj-Hegyalja.<sup>5</sup> The royal ordinance of 1737 declared that wine originating from the settlements named was equal in value to Tokaj and could therefore be sold in barrels marked with the same stamp.<sup>6</sup>

In the first half of the 18th century Mátyás Bél undertook the first systematic mapping of the wine regions in the Carpathian Basin. He wrote descriptions of a total of 6 wine regions in Northern Hungary (Tokaj, Sopron, Kőszeg, Buda, Szentgyörgy, Miskolc).<sup>7</sup> In 1832–33 Ferenc Schams published a work in German (*Ungarns Weinbau...*) identifying 14 wine regions, and also classifying them by quality. His classification does not include the territory of Transylvania, but he discusses Croatia as a separate unit. He discusses most of the wine regions on the basis of the counties and others are defined by the borders and vicinity of larger grape-growing free royal towns or market towns. Within individual counties he describes only the renowned wine-producing settlements and areas (e.g. within Zala County the area beside Lake Balaton), and within the larger counties he identifies larger sub-areas, each characterised by the name of a prominent settlement (e.g. 8 within Pest County).<sup>8</sup> The agricultural statistics published by Károly Galgóczi in 1855 divide Hungarian wines and wine regions into four major groups on the basis of their national or local or small regional significance. Within the group of “nationally renowned and most outstanding wines and wine regions” – taking into account further quality differences – he makes a distinction between the regions producing aszú wine, quality red wines and table wines.

<sup>3</sup> ÉGETŐ 2001: 529–530.

<sup>4</sup> ÉGETŐ 2001: 529–530.

<sup>5</sup> The wine region situating in northeast Hungary nowadays comprises 5800 hectares vineyards and 28 settlements, including Tokaj, which has given its name to the area as a whole. Two villages (Kistoronya, Szőlőské) were ceded to Czechoslovakia after the First World War which resulted many conflicts. Slovakia is making ceaseless attempts to expand the Tokaj appellation in its territory far beyond. The volcanic origins of the soils and the presence of volcanic debris (known as tuff) results in a high level of trace elements, giving many wines a high degree of minerality. The Bodrog and Tisza rivers create specific climatic conditions which allow the local grape varieties (Furmint, Hárslevelű etc.) to concentrate their sugar content in the fall, either as a result of *Botrytis cinerea* or by allowing the grapes to dry out on the vine. Wines have been made using aszú (dry or shrunken) grapes since the second half of the 16th century. We cannot be certain that the *botrytis* fungus was also recognized as early as the late 16th century, rather than the traditional attribution to the mid-17th century. By the 18th century sweet wines from the region had been introduced to the French and Russian court. ROHÁLY – MÉSZÁROS – LAMBERT-GÓCS 2006: 699–700. ; DOMINÉ 2004: 702.

<sup>6</sup> BALASSA 1991: 18.

<sup>7</sup> ÉGETŐ 1993: 17.

<sup>8</sup> SCHAMS 1832–33.

In his vinicultural statistics published in 1875 Károly Keleti distinguishes 25 wine regions in the territory of Hungary, 6 in Transylvania, and a further 6 in Croatia–Slavonia amounting to a total of 37 wine regions for the whole of the Hungarian empire. The 25 wine regions in Hungary are located in four main groups or vinicultural regions: to the East and West of the Danube, and the East and West of the Tisza. The classification largely follows the public administration or county borders but in cases extends beyond them: the grape-growing areas of several counties and their settlements form a single wine region (e.g. the wine region of Vas County with the North-western part of Zala County). The publication also contains two maps: one on the vine-growing areas of Hungary and the other showing the distribution according to the colour of the wine produced.<sup>9</sup> Keleti's statistics were used to make the first official classification of wine regions in 1880, and in 1884 a vinicultural map of Hungary and a vinicultural register.<sup>10</sup> The second official classification was made on the basis of the 1893 Wine Act and defined 22 wine regions. This classification was more independent of the county divisions and applied a system of criteria for the classification of wine regions based on production and historical traditions; only settlements producing quality wine were classified in the given historical wine region.<sup>11</sup> Apart from minor modifications, this classification remained valid right up to the first world war. The change in classifications in the late 19th century was also related to the destruction caused by *Phylloxera* that resulted in changes in the growing areas, extent and importance of individual wine regions.

As a consequence of the redrawing of the borders by the Treaty of Trianon (1920), around 2/3 of Hungary's vine-growing territories remained within the new state borders while close to 2/3 of the total population, the majority of the wine consumers, remained in the separated territories. The Trianon borders also cut across what had formerly been single wine regions, for example a number of settlements belonging to the Tokaj wine region went to what was then Czechoslovakia and the vine-growing areas of the Ruszt–Sopron–Pozsony wine region were split along the borders of Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia.<sup>12</sup> The new classification identifying 17 wine regions within the new borders of Hungary officially came into force in 1924.

With the modification of the state borders, that is, with the return of part of the territories lost after the First World War, the number of wine regions also changed. In the early 1940s there were 21 recognised wine regions, of which four (*Bereg, Érmellék, Szerednye, Erdély-Marosmente*) had returned to the system of Hungarian vine and wine economy together with the previously lost territories.

A substantial further modification was made after the Second World War, in 1959 when the official regulation identified 14 wine regions and a number of areas called *places producing good wine*.<sup>13</sup> From the 1970s a new change could be observed in the structure of the Hungarian wine regions: their number increased. It rose in 1977 from 14 to 15, then in 1983 to 16.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> KELETI 1875.

<sup>10</sup> HANTAL KFT. 2003.

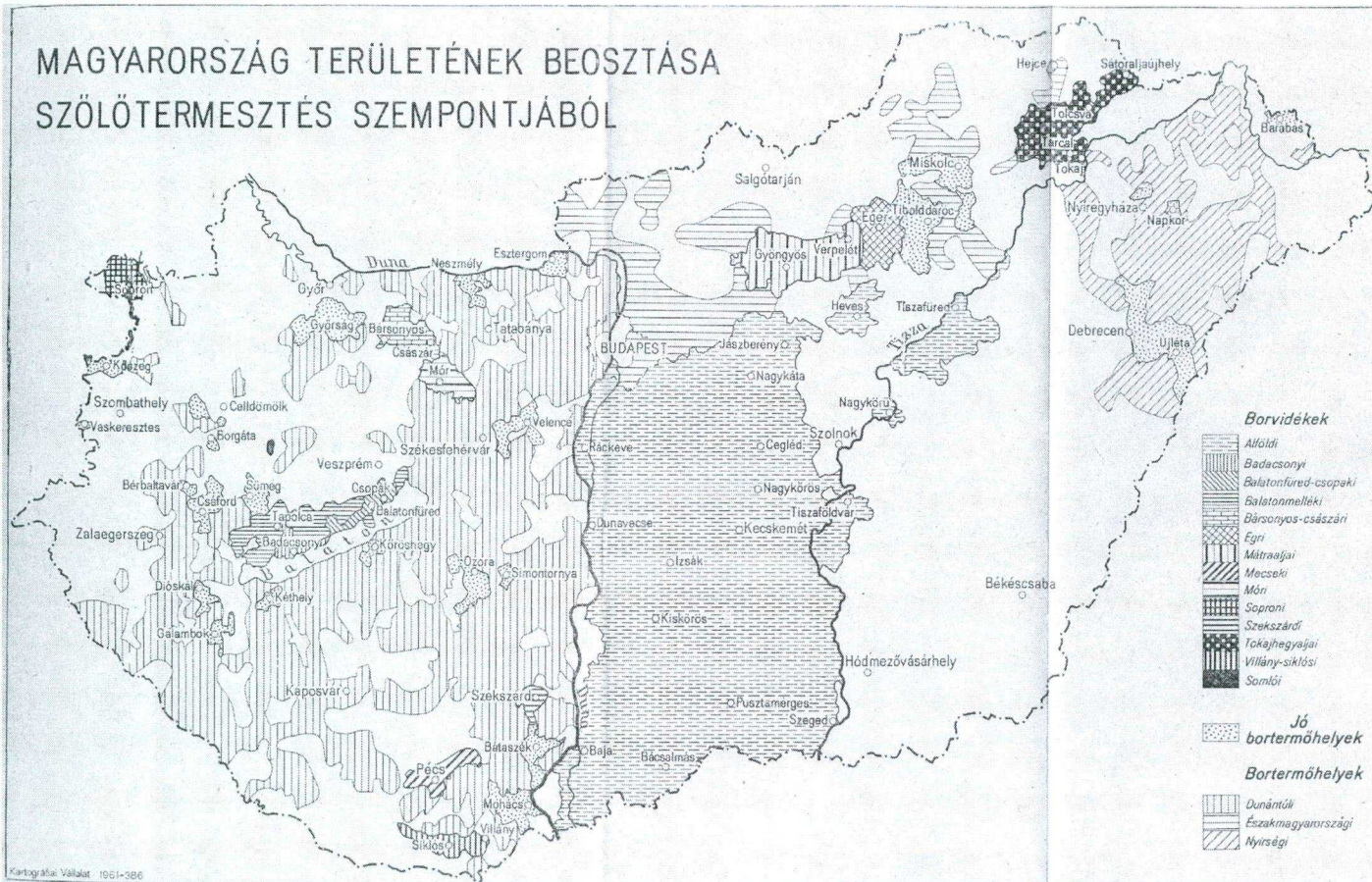
<sup>11</sup> A FÖLDMIVELÉSÜGYI M. KIR. MINISZTER KIADVÁNYAI [Publications of the Hungarian Royal Minister for Agriculture] 1898.

<sup>12</sup> ÉGETŐ 2001: 531.

<sup>13</sup> ÉGETŐ 1992: 342.

<sup>14</sup> KADÁR 1998: 7.

# MAGYARORSZÁG TERÜLETÉNEK BEOSZTÁSA SZŐLŐTERMESZTÉS SZEMPONTJÁBÓL



Act CXXI of 1997 made considerable changes in the territory of the earlier wine regions. An especially large change occurred in the Kunság wine area that replaced the Kiskunság wine region, now comprising not only the wine-producing settlements of Bács-Kiskun County but also places in Pest County belonging to the vine-growing area of the Great Plain, wine-producing settlements in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, and even the vineyards on sandy soil around the town of Heves.<sup>15</sup>

The number and extent of Hungarian wine regions changed in a distinctive way in the course of the 20th century. Similarly to the classification of 1893, there are 22 wine districts in the present territory of Hungary, due principally to the division into smaller units of the vine-growing areas remaining within the present borders. The Great Plain wine region covering largely the region between the Danube and Tisza rivers, has now been divided into three smaller wine areas, the Csongrád, the Hajós-Baja and the Kunság areas.

The basic unit in the definition of growing places in Hungary is thus the wine region which has similar climatic, topographical and soil endowments in the administrative area of a number of settlements, vineyards with a characteristic selection of varieties and methods of cultivation and distinctive wine-producing traditions, and where wines of a distinctive character are produced. To be classified in a wine district, a settlement must have at least 7% of its agricultural land registered as a vine-growing area or a wine store dealing with traditional wine-making.<sup>16</sup>

These classifications too, aimed to draw the borders of the wine regions not mainly in line with the public administration borders but on the basis of similar natural and historical conditions, varieties grown and production and processing practices. Fifteen of them are in Transdanubia, that is the area south and west from river Danube. The other seven situated east from it in the Hungarian Plain and in the northern part of the country.

The wine routes serving the purposes of wine tourism (hospitality, wine tasting, events), and presenting the local characteristics of the grape and wine culture also represent special ways of marking space. In Hungary the first wine route was marked in Villány-Siklós in 1994 based on the French model. There are now around 30 wine routes in the country. Some of the wine routes also cross the borders of wine regions and operate within the frame of a major wine region.<sup>17</sup> Another new phenomenon is that, thanks to the rearrangement of the Schengen borders, the borders between the wine regions of different countries are also becoming permeable. A good example of this is the Murania Tourism Zone that has been functioning since 2007, linking the South-western part of Hungary (Zala County) and the North-east region of Slovenia (Mura region), and also includes a separate wine tourism programme.<sup>18</sup> It is possible from 2000 for those wine regions which have similar natural conditions or wine-making traditions to form wine districts. In the past few years 8 *wine districts*, each grouping several wine regions were formed in Hungary mainly for the purpose of interest protection and marketing. In 2002 the Csongrád, the Hajós-Baja and the Kunsági wine regions decided to develop the Danube Wine District which resulted new type of borders separating one wine district from the others.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> KADÁR 1998: 7.

<sup>16</sup> SZILÁGYI 2008: 320.

<sup>17</sup> BENCE 2007: 16–19.

<sup>18</sup> BENCE 2007: 189–192.

<sup>19</sup> Special issue of Dunabor magazine 2008. November.



## BORDERS WITHIN HUNGARIAN WINE REGIONS

A number of factors can justify and lead to the emergence of borders within a given wine region. The simplest form of internal articulation based on topography is when the vineyards on rows of parallel hills divided by valleys, or the vineyards in higher areas outside market towns on the Great Plain are identified by separate names. Such larger areas of vines were generally separated from the neighbouring forest, grazing land or fields by some kind of fence (*gyepű*).<sup>20</sup> This could be formed naturally with thorny bushes, or it could be made artificially: by digging a ditch. There were one or more entrances that could be opened or closed in the fence (*hegykapu*), where people could enter only with the authorisation of the vine guard. In this way fences of this kind not only separated but also protected the vineyards from some of the animals that caused damages or from people with ill intent. The fence was owned jointly by the community of vineyard owners (*hegyközség*) and its regular care and maintenance was the duty of the wine-growers. In order to avoid disputes over land borders the individual owners also strove to mark clearly the borders of their own vine land: e.g. with stones, stakes or a ditch that could also serve to channel rainwater. From the mid-20th century the fences gradually disappeared, mainly as a result of the change of ownership structure caused by collectivisation and the dissolution of the communities of vineyard owners.<sup>21</sup>

The topographical articulation and the advantage of cultivating holdings as a single unit justified the definition of certain territorial units within the vine-growing areas. Most of these also served as local units of measurement for vine land. The amount of land that a vineyard worker could hoe in a day (*kapás*) was a unit of measurement that differed from one wine region to another depending mainly on the soil conditions. Such units of cultivation (*pászta*) were often separated by footpaths.<sup>22</sup> After the Phylloxera plague in the late 19th century these units of approximately the same size were generally planted with a single grape variety. In the 20th century rows of fruit trees were often planted along the edges or separated plots of vines of varying size.

A special form of articulation and the drawing of borders within the wine district is related to the guarding of the vineyards. The area supervised by the vine guard hired by the growers, mainly when the grapes were ripening, was generally no larger than the area he could cover in a day. In a number of wine regions in Transylvania it is still a general practice among vine guards to erect border signs (*csóva*) made from branches, hay or weeds and a long stake at the edges of the territory they guard.<sup>23</sup> The guard's poles (*csőszpózna*) used in settlements of the Mór wine region (Northern Transdanubia) were similar, but they were generally decorated at the top with ribbons and a wreath of flowers; researchers associate this practice with the German-speaking inhabitants who settled here in the 17th–18th centuries.<sup>24</sup> An example from the South of the Great Plain: if the vine guard did not find a grower on his plot when he was making his daily round, he drew an S or a figure 8 in the sand to show that he had been there, that is, that he had visited and inspected the territory

<sup>20</sup> BALASSA 1991: 71–75.

<sup>21</sup> BALASSA 1991: 68–71.; ÉGETŐ 2001: 539–540.

<sup>22</sup> ÉGETŐ 2001: 541–542.

<sup>23</sup> MÓD 2007: 100–101.

<sup>24</sup> LUKÁCS 1990: 311–313.

entrusted to him. It was important, especially in the vineyards on the plains, for the guard to have a clear view of the whole area from a height. In the vicinity of Szeged, for example, a ladder-like pole several metres high (*látófa*) was erected for this purpose.<sup>25</sup>

The vine hill crosses or statues of the patron saints of grapes were generally erected at the entrance to the territory, at its external or internal borders or crossroads. They may also stand at the highest point of the vine hill visible from afar, just like the chapels used for shelter during storms. The immediate vicinity of these small structures can be regarded as a sacral space.

One of the best examples of the representation and reinforcement of borders formed on the basis of various considerations within a wine district is provided by Tokaj-Hegyalja, one of the most important vine-growing areas in Hungary since the 16th century. Behind this we find the specialty wines that over the centuries have represented substantial market value and given rise to the wine trade.

In Mád practically all of the settlement's most famous vineyards (*dűlők*), such as the *Király* and the *Kővágó*, were already in existence by the late 1500s and early 1600s. It can also be observed that a distinction was made between the different areas on the same hillsides, reflected in the names (e.g. *Kis-*, *Nagy-*, *Felső-* and *Alsóveres*). By the early 17th century the *dűlő* had become the basic unit of vine-growing, determined in cases by the geographical location, while in other cases greater emphasis was placed on the history of the site.<sup>26</sup>

In his book on the life of the people of Hungary published around 1730, Mátyás Bél (1684–1749) devoted a separate chapter to vine-growing in Tokaj, in which he also classified the vineyards. He grouped the vine-growing areas into three types: first, second and third class.<sup>27</sup> In 1867 the Album of Tokaj-Hegyalja was published with a classification based on the system elaborated by Antal Szirmay in 1798.

The distinction between the different vineyard areas was not only the result of different natural environments but also reflected ownership relations because ownership at times also extended beyond the natural borders.<sup>28</sup> The growing plantations on the hillsides merged or divided into separate vineyards. Their borders often changed over the centuries. The Mád *Királyok* vineyard provides one of the best examples of this because the different vine-growing areas were merged during the socialist period, ending the distinctions applied earlier (*Kis-*, *Nagy-*, *Alsó-*, *Felső-Király*).<sup>29</sup> Privatisation raised the question of borders between the vineyards in a striking way: the new wineries established after 1989 came into possession of a number of historical vineyards but at the same time took their name from one of the famous estates (e.g. *Hétszőlő*, *Disznókő*, etc.). As a result the names of vineyards and holdings became blurred because individual wineries owned other vineyards in addition to the one from which they took their name.

Attention in Tokaj-Hegyalja is once again focused on the classification and creation of a hierarchy of vineyards within the wine district, with special emphasis on quality wine-making. The *Tokaj Wine-makers' Association* formed in 2006 is attempting to carry out

<sup>25</sup> BÖRCSÖK 1974: 480;

<sup>26</sup> ALKONYI 2004: 137.

<sup>27</sup> ALKONYI 2004: 143–145.

<sup>28</sup> ALKONYI 2004: 135.

<sup>29</sup> ALKONYI 2004: 203.

this work. It is their conviction that the classification of the vineyards expresses the picture formed of their natural environment by the vine-growing and wine-making communities, which is naturally also shaped by the constantly changing consumption habits.

The association wishes to operate the system of “*appellation contrôlée*” with a reinterpretation of the historical classifications of vineyards. Their aim is to classify a growing area only if wine with controlled designation of origin has already been made from there on one occasion, or an attempt has been made to do so. If a grower wishes to produce such wine for the first time from a growing area, the borders of the area are defined at the first vineyard inspection. The members of the association then examine the right to use the name of the growing area, whether it can be identified with a historical vineyard, and then decide on the classification. The symbol used by the association can also be associated with borders because it includes two dates (1641, 1737)<sup>30</sup> that can be regarded as important stages in defining the limits of the wine district.

New types of borders has emerged in the wine region in the last few years, because it became the part of the World Heritage. The territory protected by the UNESCO was divided into two parts, the core area and the buffer zone.<sup>31</sup> The first one involves the most important vineyards of the wine region, the administrative territory of Tokaj, Bodrogkeresztúr, Bodrogkisfalud, Mád, Mezőzombor, Rátka, Szegi, Tarcál and Tállya.<sup>32</sup> The introduction of cultural landscapes into the application of the World Heritage Convention was the first step to link cultural and natural heritage. The traditional vineyard landscapes are located into territories with a long human presence using the natural conditions such as relief, soil and climate etc. They illustrate a considerable human invention with the construction of terraces and creation of other systems of transport and drainage.<sup>33</sup>

Tokaj-Hegyalja was not the only one of the 22 wine districts in Hungary where strengthening the borders separating the different vineyards has played or is playing an important role. In Villány–Siklós wine region<sup>34</sup> too, remarkable efforts are being made to define the vineyards, that is, the geographical origin of the wine, represented in visual form on the wine labels. Perhaps the most famous vineyard in this wine district is the *Kopár*,<sup>35</sup> on the southern flanks of *Szársomlyó* between Villány and Nagyharsány. This is Hungary's warmest vine-growing area where the grapes receive the greatest total heat.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In 1641 the representatives of 10 market towns and three villages from Hegyalja and 5 free royal cities from northeast Hungary met and established the regulation for the cultivation of grapes and stated the wages and the unified procedures for harvest and taxation. Zelenák 2002: 29–33.

<sup>31</sup> The participants of the meeting organized in 2001 emphasised the importance of the coherent delimitation of vineyard cultural landscapes based on geographical units and historical territories. If the core area does not fully match the coherent unit, it must be covered by the bufferzone. Recommendations of the World Heritage Thematic Expert Meeting on Vineyard Cultural Landscapes.

<sup>32</sup> DÉKÁNY–TÉCSI 2010.

<sup>33</sup> RÖSSLER 2001: 9–14.

<sup>34</sup> This is the southernmost wine area in Hungary which is situated on the terraced southern and eastern slopes of Villány mountains. It protects the vineyards from cold northern influences resulting in a special sub-mediterranean climate. The effective growing area under vines is 1450 hectares, including 655 hectares planted with white grapes and 730 hectares devoted to red production. The whites are mostly grown in the Siklós part of the region. ROHÁLY – MÉSZÁROS 2006: 735.

<sup>35</sup> The name refers to the black limestone debris directly above the vines. ROHÁLY – MÉSZÁROS – NAGY-MAROSSY 2003: 202.

<sup>36</sup> BOTOS 2005b. 29.

In our study we have attempted to give an overview of how the different types of borders in Hungarian vine and wine culture can be manifested. In addition to the borders separating the different wine districts, there can also be borders within the individual vine-growing districts, the origins of which can be explained in various ways. The question and problem of drawing, strengthening and representing the borders can certainly throw light on new aspects of the grape and wine culture that can be regarded as related to the interests of vine-growing communities and to conflicts between them.

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Terrace walls in Somló wine region (photo by András Simon, Somló hill, Western Hungary, 2008)





Border sign in the vineyard (photo by László Mód, Magyarlapád, Transylvania, 2003)

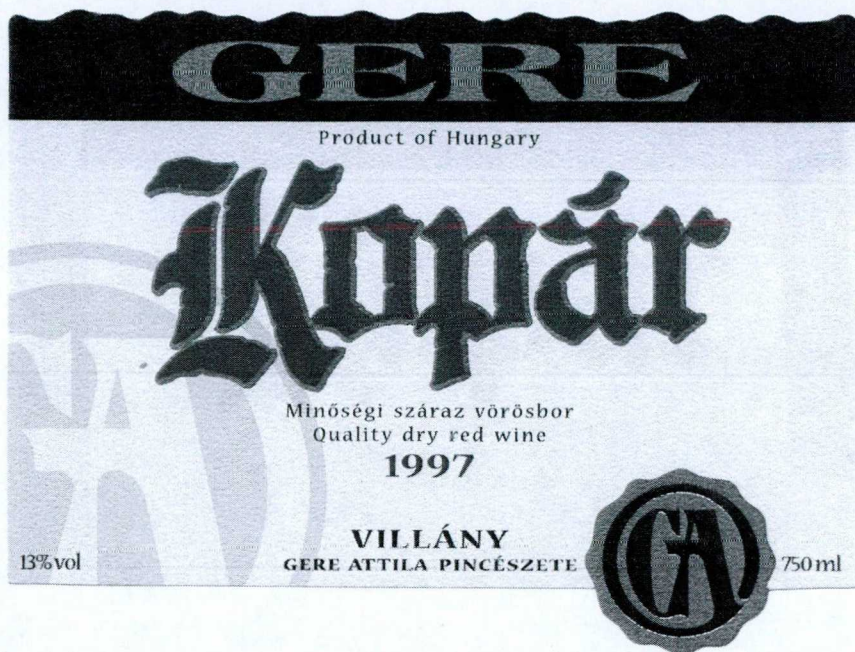


Border sign in the vineyard (photo by László Mód, Magyarlapád, Transylvania, 2003)





The symbol used by Tokaj Wine-maker's Association



The name of the vineyard 'Kopár' on the label of Gere Winery



# MAPPING REGIONAL STRUCTURES AS OUTLINED AND PRODUCED BY A SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE TIES

## The Case of Kalotaszeg, a Reformed Presbyterian Hungarian Region in Transylvania, Romania

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**Abstract:** Kalotaszeg is a famous historic and ethnographic region in Transylvania (Romania) consisting of approximately 35–40 village communities. The region has raised considerable scholarly interest since its early discovery at the end of the 19th century. A constantly reoccurring focus of studies has been to outline the structure of the region. Although it was not our primary concern, when we started our social anthropology fieldwork at the beginning of the 1990s we soon encountered the problematic issue of how to delineate the external and internal boundaries around and within this multi-ethnic and multi-religious region and how to grasp in-group and out-group relations with a special regard to the context of socio-historical structure of the population in the area. We wanted to understand what kinds of diachronic and synchronic factors stood behind the formation of various networks of human connection interpreted as regional structures.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** Kalotaszeg, marriage, network, exogamy, endogamy, micro-region, regional identity, prestige, hierarchy, ecological complex

We also wanted to understand the mechanisms of the development and content of shifting regional identities carried by various groups in local societies. We attempted to learn where individuals placed themselves on the ethno-cultural map of the larger area: did they possess a consciousness of belonging to specific ethnographic/ethno-cultural groups or regions? Did they possess at all self-descriptions reflecting independent identity consciousness? What kind of regional structure emerged from their mental spatial perspectives necessary for their self-categorization?

From a methodological point of view we found the study of system of marriage ties instrumental in approaching issues in connection with the formation of regional structure and the reproduction of regional identity.<sup>2</sup> In this article, we would like to outline the methodo-

<sup>1</sup> The book of the authors on the topic BALOGH – FÜLEMILE 2004.

<sup>2</sup> The period of time we have studied, within reach of memory looking back 3–4 generations, extends from approximately the 1870s until the recent disintegration of traditional marriage systems, which began in the

logical importance of studying marriage networks in their spatial dimension by presenting the example of our specific case-study of the Kalotaszeg region.

In the course of our research, we generated several maps that were useful means of studying networks with spatial aspects. The final outcome of our research was also a map of the spatial structure and the boundaries and sub-regions of the Kalotaszeg region based on the network of marriage ties. The map includes diachronic factors as well and expresses the frequency and dynamism of connections along with hierarchic evaluative value judgments, illustrating how people see and interpret various constitutive elements of the network. (Figure 3, 4)

Following a short introduction to the region, we will elucidate how we approached the problem of studying the marriage network from a theoretical point of view as well as the concrete methodology we used in our study. At the end, we give a brief analysis of the final outcome of our field research.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE REGION

The so-called Kalotaszeg region extends 50 kilometres to the west between Kolozsvár/*Cluj* and the market-town of Bánffyhunyard/*Huedin* and stretches along the main road leading from the city of Nagyvárad/*Oradea* to Cluj. The almond shape territory is divided into larger or smaller subregions and microregions along the valleys of rivers and brooks.<sup>3</sup> (Figure 3) The settlements vary in population from 100-1400 residents, not counting Bánffyhunyard, which functions as the administrative and economic hub of the region.

The settlements of Kalotaszeg are inhabited either partly or entirely by ethnic Hungarians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Calvinists. There are also Romanians and various groups of Roma population cohabiting with the Hungarians. Ethnic proportions vary from place to place. (Figure 1) The mountains surrounding the region<sup>4</sup> serve as both a geographic and an ethnic boundary. It is a historical fact that in the period from the 18th to the end of 20th century the ratio of Romanian ethnic population in territories adjoining Kalotaszeg increased significantly, while the continuous shrinking of Hungarian ethnic space is an inexorable historical process. (Kocsis – Kocsis – Hóposi 1998:99-133)

In the 1940s, Kalotaszeg comprising a Hungarian population of approximately 40,000 constituted a strong ethnic “island” in the surrounding “sea” of majority Romanian population. Today, as a consequence of the radical decline in the Hungarian population, there are about 12 to 14,000 ethnic Hungarians living in the area. Still, Kalotaszeg continues to remain a relatively homogeneous but very fragile ethnic island of Hungarians. This comparative homogeneity is a significant factor in the formation of a succinct ethnic identity in the region.

early 1960s from the time of collectivisation and continues to mean changes in lifestyle corresponding to the transformation of local societies in the general processes of urbanisation and acculturation. These processes have rapidly accelerated since the political transition of 1989. Our present efforts have focused on reconstructing the traditional system of marriage ties of the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> Sebes Körös/ *Crișul Repede*, Kalota/*Câlata*, Almás/ *Almaș*, Nádas/*Nadaș*, Kapus/*Căpușul*, Kis-Szamos/ *Someșul Mic*, Lóna/*Luna*, Fenes/*Finis*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> To the northwest Meszes/*Mezeș*, southwest Vlegyásza/*Vlădeasa* and south Gyalu/*Gilău* Mountains.

The region of Kalotaszeg represents one of the earliest and most famous discoveries of complex Hungarian peasant culture, rich in subtle nuances ranging from music and dance to embroidery, traditional costumes, woodcarving and furniture painting. Its unique style was discovered by the elite society of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the end of the 19th century, beginning with the royal court, then spreading among members of the aristocracy, intelligentsia and in artistic circles. It went on to become a fashionable place of cultural pilgrimage and was a significant source of inspiration for the Hungarian Art Nouveau movement at the turn of the 20th century. Virtually a model for the fame-creating process of a region, the name Kalotaszeg is a phenomenon unto itself, both in Hungarian ethnography and in the history of national culture. (Figure 5 and 6)

Market-oriented art-production has been a source of income since the late 19th century up to the present day, primarily for communities located along the main road. To this day, local crafts - often rooted in historical traditions (e.g. textile work, bead-work, wood carving and furniture-painting) - and the trade of home-industry products provides work opportunities for many. Although value systems, modes of expressing prestige, criteria for partner selection, gender roles, the observance of traditional holiday customs and the need to create and use certain forms of aesthetic expression, have undergone changes, the region is still characterized by budding manifestations of folklorism based on rich antecedents and strengthened by the stimulating power of ethnic identity. Local "village tourism", growing in strength after 1990, offers to some a livelihood through paying guests interested in folk dancing, folk costumes, folk architecture etc. (BALOGH 2004: 175-182) In light of the above, the maintenance and display of this renowned culture of Kalotaszeg could now become an economic issue and a question of survival. (BALOGH – FÜLEMILE 2006) (Figure 2)

## PROBLEMS IN METHODS FOR THE DELINEATION OF THE REGION – EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CONNECTIONS AND BOUNDARIES

### *The area studied and methods of field-work*

We have made efforts not to allow preconceptions to influence our definition of the region and avoided limiting our field-work only to those villages that have already been the object of studies in connection with Kalotaszeg. For this reason, both in geographic and ethnic terms, we have stepped beyond the boundaries set by previous research, checking the authenticity of prior results in order to ascertain whether the communities that fit the already stereotypical image of Kalotaszeg do indeed belong to the regional structure on one level or another.<sup>5</sup>

We attempted to employ a unified system of viewpoints when exploring the network of connections within the grass-roots social structure comprised by the villages in the region under scrutiny. Since the web of connections between individual settlements included regional bonds of varying extent and structure, it became necessary to identify different levels within this network so as to gain a deeper image of the region in terms of the well-defined

<sup>5</sup> We have started doing frequent fieldwork since 1991 and studied approximately 100 settlements up until now in Kalotaszeg and in the larger vicinity. As a result we have published several articles.

and less obvious borders of its network. In addition, we also placed a strong emphasis on drawing a more refined and in-depth map of the internal divisions within Kalotaszeg in order to look beyond the micro-regions that have commonly been associated with the broader regional divisions in the area until now. In examining threads of human contact within this spatial system, we saw that areas with higher and lower densities of regional connection form an interwoven fabric that constantly shifts within a single time and space. Moreover, an analysis of how connections are influenced by historical processes was also required.

Research conducted up to the present has not examined in detail where the inhabitants of individual villages place themselves on a broader continuum beyond their local identity. If we are to map the external and internal boundaries of a given territorial unit, the opinions of local residents can not be ignored with regard to how they consciously perceive the reciprocal human connections that result from direct social communication. The issue to consider is which local societies or specific social strata, ethnic and religious groups within them consider themselves to be members of a given regional unit and which do not. In other words, who is it that places their own community inside or outside of a named network of contacts that changes in time and space, how do they regard its internal divisions, and why? To what extent are locals familiar with their community? Are they only familiar with their immediate environment or do they also have knowledge about the wider community, and if so, through what channels of communication and with what motivations?

It is important to see the internal viewpoints that motivate individual settlements not only to place themselves in a network of contacts, but also to qualify others as insiders or outsiders. Which communities are regarded by everyone as members of the regional group and which ones are people uncertain about?

Another question is not only to what extent a conscious affinity exists and in what structures, but also how designated names are used. Is a self-designation applied consciously or is it an outside term that is accepted in varying degrees and perhaps used with a kind of uncertain neutrality?

This gives rise to the issue of whether the communities deemed by ethnographic science to be part of Kalotaszeg actually possess at all and to what extent a genuine and tangible Kalotaszeg identity. Is this consciousness important to them and does it reflect emotional content? Is there a collective Kalotaszeg identity within the entire community or does this identity differ according to the given social strata or age-group? Furthermore, is the Kalotaszeg identity merely advocated in the community by certain individuals (agents) perhaps in keeping with specific interests? Who perceives the “Kalotaszeg essence” and how is it manifested (e.g. in mental, conscious and cultural traits)? Are there certain aspects that provide a foundation for a hierarchy among individual villages, and if so, what are they? Does the ranking of a settlement within this hierarchy depend on how and to what extent the given community embodies the Kalotaszeg ideal?

An important aspect to take into consideration when mapping the system of connections within a region is how individual groups of villages regard others in their micro-environment as being communities of greater or lesser prestige. What are the networks of connection that have developed between prestigious villages and those with a lower level of recognition within a broader or narrower circle of settlements? It is worth noting which settlements individual communities compare themselves to and who they compete

with. Connections between individual communities may be horizontal or vertical. Usually, however, communities with the same social ranking but independent of one another on an economic and administrative level also rank each other on the basis of real or perceived characteristics. Our research in the studied micro-environment aimed to identify settlements that local inhabitants regarded as having a “strong” or “doubtful” reputation and to find out how these communities came to be attributed with their local image. An additional issue is that in the case of Kalotaszeg, the development of “reputation” and image is also influenced by the process of interethnic bonding.

*The region as an “ecological complex” or as a “collective”?*

As an interethnic territory, Kalotaszeg and its broader mountainous environment are a prime example of Fredrik Barth’s “complementary” model of ethnicity (BARTH 1969) which holds that prevalent ethnic occupational specialization in regions where vast ecological and geographic differences intersect leads to economic interdependence and symbiosis. When examining the “niche” in question – a mixture of connections between the ecological environments, modes of sustainability, settlement systems and forms of economic interaction – we were interested in the types of contact and cooperation that developed among groups of humans within the framework of the given interactive space.

In Kalotaszeg, the inhabitants of villages everywhere in the lower valleys and basins (Hungarians) refer to their neighbors in the surrounding mountains as “them” i.e. “the people of the snowy (Havas) mountains” – the Havas Mountains being a completely different geo-economic territory inhabited exclusively by Romanian ethnic groups. During market season, it said that the “snowies are coming down”. In reality, the term is used to designate peoples who inhabit the distant, higher areas of the Vlădeasa and Gilău Mountain ranges.

A distinction must be made, however, regarding the lower territories of the region where purely Romanian settlements as well as villages with mixed populations have been established over time in the vicinity of Hungarian communities. Here, two or more ethnic groups have only partially established occupational specialization. The majority belong to the same social and occupational groups and are obliged to “compete” within the same geographic environment. In this case, the aforementioned complementary model is only partly valid or not at all. Therefore, it is worthwhile to present a more complex comparison of value systems, economic mentality and strategic elements, which is far less obvious but ultimately forms latent, implicit complementarities in deeper structures and still serves “competition”.

If the region is to be examined as a scene of interaction and as an entire network of contacts that reflects communication between individuals, then we must take into consideration the social structure of the region as a whole. In such a wider interpretation, interethnic contact naturally acts as an integral part of the regional structure. Mapping interactions between everyday individuals - forms of economic contact<sup>6</sup>, but also participation in education as well as dealing with legal and administrative issues or even military service - de-

<sup>6</sup> E. g. fair-ground connections, markets, peddling, local shops, pubs, cartage, craftsman, commissioned labor, day labor, part-time work, domestic servantry, neighborly assistance, patron-client relations, hired shepherds, hired musicians etc. In the course of our work as a useful means of analysis we had generated several maps of historic and more recent phenomena (not published here).



lineates a network of human interaction that goes beyond social, denominational and ethnic borders. In this way, the complex web of “everyday” economic-social-ethnic interaction can serve as a relevant solution when outlining regional structure.

Even so, it was obvious to us that presenting this kind of complexity would be a monumental task even in the case of a single locality, let alone an entire region that is home to nearly hundred settlements. At the same time, we believed that if we wanted to present the strong “integrity and cohesion” of individual systems (of micro-regions) within a network of contacts, then the final classification would have to include numerous conscious elements.

We considered it worthwhile to ponder on some of the concepts defined in Talcott Parsons’ classic sociological work entitled *The Social System*. When examining a complex system of integrated contacts driven by economics and the market, we see a significantly wider and more diffusive geo-economic network encompassing a much larger population. Based on different aspects, such a network can be outlined as a set of overlapping circles existing side by side; hence Parsons’ “ecological complex” does not meet the criteria of “collectivity”. “It is only when as action system involves solidarity in this sense that its members define certain actions required in the interest of the integrity of the system itself, and others as incompatible with the integrity – with the result that sanctions are organized about this definition. Such system will be called a “collectivity”. Collectivity-orientation, as it were, involves posing the “question of confidence”; are you one of us or not?...solidarity in this sense involves going a step beyond “loyalty”... Collectivity-orientation on the other hand converts this “propensity” into an institutionalized obligation of the role-expectation. Than whether the actor “feels like it” or not, he is obligated to act in certain ways and risks the application of negative sanctions if he does not... Conformity with expectations of collectivity-orientation may be called taking “responsibility” as a member of the collectivity. But it is a further step of elaboration to conceive of the collectivity “acting as a unit”, or “in concert”... At the limiting pole of completely uninstitutionalized fluidity a system of social interaction would involve no collectivities in the technical sense of the present discussion; it would be only an ecological complex.”<sup>7</sup> Collectivity, which in this sense comprises a wider circle than a local community, is an integrated unit, one which possesses the capability and the tools necessary for self-definition, self-categorization and the preservation of its own system.

It is these viewpoints that have assisted us in selecting one of the two approaches. The definition of an ethnographic region must include the aforementioned conscious elements, and so instead of studying the broader and looser network of the ecological complex, we regard the most consistent method of research to be one that focuses on coherent regional districts possessing their own self-identity and organized through marriage ties and mutual feelings of community.

Viewed as a “collective”, micro-regions do not always differ from one another in terms of cultural traits (although this is also possible). The emphasis here is not on culture, but on self-preservation and the ability to reproduce. In other words, a regional unit can only

<sup>7</sup> Chapter III, The Structure of the Social system, I: The Organization of the Components into Sub-systems. The Solidarity of the Collectivity. In: PARSONS 1964: 96–101.

be called an ethnographic group insofar as both a demand and an opportunity exist for preserving its traditional circles of marriage. We have observed numerous cases in which the disintegration of marital bonds has been accompanied by a loss of group identity and culture.

### *External boundaries*

Our point of departure was that marriage ties play an important integrating role and can therefore be regarded as a decisive factor when interpreting the micro-region as a “collective”. This aspect clearly outlined the human circles which place themselves inside and outside of a regional group. Using this method, we attempted to identify groups within the geographical and historical parameters of the Kalotaszeg population who not only considered themselves to be part of the regional group, but whose self-categorization was consensually accepted by both members of their own group and those on the outside.

In order to further illustrate our train of thought, we must answer the following question: In the case of pre-modern rural societies, what principles provided the foundation for traditional marriage systems in the territory of historical Hungary in the Carpathian Basin? It can be said that marriage preferences were largely determined by two dominant factors: social and religious affiliation.

People moving within the framework of the same physical space in pluralistic local communities formed groups that were separated by interactive and symbolic boundaries.

When modeling the structure of a local society with limited mobility, it is necessary to show the relationship between vertical and horizontal elements. If we were to rank social groups in a column from top to bottom on an imaginary social ladder, separate categories (systems of contact) would typically include local landowners (if the given settlement included an estate), lesser nobility, the intelligentsia church and secular, local middle-class society (craftsmen, merchants and administrative functionaries), local peasantry and wandering groups with no local roots, including peasants employed as servants (if the community had them).

This deeply ingrained and rigid hierarchy was vertically intersected by religious boundaries in the event that several denominations co-existed within the local community. If the peasantry in the locality lived in religious division (e.g. Catholics vs. Protestants), the two groups generally did not mix with each other. People of different denominations tended to look outside of the community in search of partners from other villages, but of the same denomination (denominational homogamy).

The same is true of social stratification: members of the lesser nobility maintained familial and social bonds with the nobility of other communities, craftsmen and merchants sought contact with members of their own social stratum in other villages (social endogamy), and so on.

The development of common marriage circles (through local exogamy) also provided an opportunity to form common cultural circles, hence the self-representation of various groups in local society through marriage outside of the community can be characterized in different styles that more or less sharply manifested group boundaries.

In the case of pre-modern rural societies in East-Central Europe, ethnic boundaries were drawn (prior to the formation of modern national identity) as a secondary projection

of religious boundaries. The socio-historical development typical of the Carpathian Basin is one of “ethnic religions” i.e. denominations monopolized by individual ethnic groups. Although this process led to a tight interdependence between religion and ethnicity, it should not erase the order of priorities according to which the formation of religious groups is the primary and dominant factor while the development of ethnic boundaries is only as sharp as religious separation has already prepared it to be.

The processes behind the formation of ethnic boundaries in the Carpathian Basin can be more or less illustrated on the basis of two models.<sup>8</sup> In places where religious and ethnic boundaries corresponded to one another, there is a sharp division between systems of relational contact among religious-ethnic groups, the dividing lines are inflexible and can hardly be crossed. Where only linguistic-ethnic differences were present and no religious division existed, the boundaries are far less rigid and can be penetrated more easily depending on the situation (along with ethnic identity), and such “permeability” was greatly fostered by the processes of assimilation that came with modernization, especially in urban environments.

The studied rural territory of Kalotaszeg is mostly characterized by the first, religious-ethnic type of division. Until recently, intermingling and intermarriage have very rarely taken place, if at all. In settlements stratified along religious/ethnic and/or social lines, various groups have formed relational contacts outside of their common local space, choosing local exogamy as the strategy for finding partners. Therefore, if we wish to map the outer borders of Kalotaszeg on the basis of marriage ties, the following steps seem relatively easy and logical.

The network of marriage circles provided the social, religious and related ethnic foundation for outlining the regional structure, revealing those groups who have formed circles of genetic reproduction by consensus and created within them a special cultural focus with visually tangible features and repeated patterns of action, the awareness and practice of which have given people living in the given group a sense of community.

In accordance with this definition, it can thus be said that Kalotaszeg is primarily a network of human contacts shifting in a time and space characterized by a system of culture and communication populated first and foremost by Calvinist peasants of Hungarian ethnic origin. This network did not include<sup>9</sup> the non-peasant and non-Calvinist groups in the region, a double factor that excluded villages of nobility, the industrialist and merchant strata of urban environments that experienced an early middle-class development (including the local Israelite Jewish community), Catholic Hungarians, Catholic Saxons, the Orthodox or Greek Catholic Romanian peasantry, and the mobile or locally settled Roma community, (who were primarily employed as musicians, craftsmen and shepherds). Based on these criteria, it is not only certain local groups of inhabitants who are excluded from the regional structure on a social, religious/ethnic basis, but also entire settlements geographically wedged in the territory of Kalotaszeg.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See Lockwood 1981 analysis on comparing Bosnia to Burgenland.

<sup>9</sup> The term excluded in this case means that the groups listed here did not consider themselves to be part of Kalotaszeg. In addition, they were able to name the groups who they considered to be Kalotaszegians, and Kalotaszegians also regarded them to be outsiders. The space available here is too limited to quote the many striking narratives that illustrate this phenomenon.

<sup>10</sup> It should be mentioned here that Romanian villages in the region that coexist with Hungarians distance themselves from the regional identity of Kalotaszeg – a term which they are either unfamiliar with or associ-

### *Internal boundaries*

The study of marriage systems, however, indicates more than these larger structures and external borders. Even if we concentrate purely on marriage within the Calvinist Hungarian peasant population, it can still help to outline sub- and micro regions within the larger area.

Along with the local endogamy that village communities in Kalotaszeg make an effort to maintain, there is also a general tendency of exogamy that can be identified within a well-defined circle. When asked which villages they sought spouses from, people in practically all Hungarian (and Romanian) villages quickly replied that they looked for partners in their own village. When pressed for a more specific answer, however, individuals everywhere eventually named a handful of communities with which marital relations and ties of affinity had been maintained on a regular basis going back to the distant past. (The majority of our informants revealed that one of their grandmothers, aunts or sister-in-laws had come from a different settlement.<sup>11</sup>)

The emphasis on the exclusivity of local endogamy as a kind of verdict is sometimes stronger and sometimes weaker<sup>12</sup>, even though the ratio of exogamic marriages - one or two exceptions notwithstanding - is similar throughout the villages of Kalotaszeg.<sup>13</sup> The strength of this topos is not necessarily connected with the size of the population in a given village. Simple logic dictates that the smaller a community is, the more favorable marriage outside the community would seem, and in the case of villages with a population

ate with a territory belonging exclusively to Hungarian villages. The Romanian terms “zona Călata,” “plasa Călata” carry geographical/administrative sense and do not have strong identity constituent. (We have also begun to map Romanian circles of marriage within the same territory, but at the moment have refrained from publishing the results due to insufficient data.)

<sup>11</sup> In keeping with the patrilocality of Hungarian peasant society, it was mainly women who married into other communities outside of their own village into the groom's family, but here, as with other Calvinist settlements in the Carpathian Basin - where the frequency of “marrying into the bride's family” increased due to the single-child system resulting from family planning in parallel with opportunities for women to inherit land after the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century - we also encounter cases of men moving to their brides. Although this did not mean a loss of prestige for the men involved (marrying into wealth was in fact regarded as proof of talent and shrewdness), even during the 20<sup>th</sup> century the numerical ratio of women who moved to their husbands' villages was still higher than cases of the opposite.

<sup>12</sup> The patriarchal nature of peasant society is sufficiently illustrated by the frequently used derogatory question: “Why is goose-shit better than hen-shit?” - meaning why look for a wife in the neighbouring village when you can find one here at home? Other derisive comments, however, refer to the opportunity for marital ties outside of the village, presenting an image of the broader environment that precisely indicates the conscious direction of exogamic relationships: “There's no greater curse than a wife from Bika.” or “Don't buy a wife from Vista, milk from Méra, or a cow from Szucság!” A Romanian version used in Nyárszó: “Don't buy pigs from Nyíres 'cause they're just no good, and don't take women from Föld 'cause they're all just sluts!”

<sup>13</sup> This ratio as well as possible fluctuations in the endogamy-exogamy ratio in earlier historical periods can and should be clarified via the study of birth certificates. Nevertheless, the task of processing birth certificates tracing back almost 200 years for the nearly 70 settlements involved is not something that can be accomplished “manually” by two researchers. Partial data is already available for 8 villages in the micro-region of Nádas and 1 in the micro-region of Alség, and source documentation is ongoing. These results support the outline gained via the ethnographic methods we have applied, and despite the deficiencies in our birth certificate database, we believe that these recent methods will enable us to correctly ascertain the main characteristics of the phenomenon under study.

of 150–200 individuals it is indeed a genetic imperative. Even so, there are densely populated settlements where marriage within the village was not an issue of prestige and where exogamy was openly accepted whereas other villages that were obviously not capable of healthy reproduction due to their size made efforts to maintain endogamy, which was mentioned as a significant question of prestige, and the practice of which was also apparent in marital relations among cousins.

We inquired about the direction of marriage relationships in every village and were given affirmative feedback from villages belonging to one circle or another. The network of ties has been summarized in a chart (not published here), which also shows two other elements partially related to marriage ties. Sources in all locations were asked which villages they considered to be “similar” and “on friendly terms” with their own and in what ways they perceived this similarity. The second question aimed to identify settlements which exchanged visitors with one another for celebrations and dances, meaning which villages offered local youth a regular opportunity to become acquainted.<sup>14</sup>

Even within circles comprising 3–4 villages, and in some cases more, the frequency of contact between settlements is not balanced, sometimes intense and sometimes sporadic. (The thickness of the lines connecting the villages on our maps indicates the frequency with which they make contact with one another. See Figure 4.)

It was also revealed that the image of certain villages within the circle of marital ties also differed. A positive image was not necessarily related to a higher number of marriages; the ranking or preferential status of an individual village was not based on quantifiers. In other words, the prestige of a given settlement within the circle of marriage ties was not gained according to the achieved quantity of marriages, but in accordance with the level of appreciation that it was given.

Going beyond marital ties, when sources were asked which villages they considered most similar to their own, they did not always mention villages with which they had the most frequent contact. It is also worth observing whether both parties involved have a positive image of the other, whether they rank marriage ties on the same level and whether they actually admit or perceive similarity with one another. In this way, an even finer grid can also be outlined within the micro-region of the given marriage circle.

In most cases, the concept of “similarity” was generally understood in terms of cultural traits, mainly including external appearance, clothing styles and taste.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the mention of villages with similar styles of native costume may also indicate hidden prestige aspirations, a desire to be connected with the name of a “stronger”, more popular and stylish settlement. This aspect is especially evident in the case of Felszeg, where the “old-

<sup>14</sup> Among the several maps we generated we have also outlined a map indicating centres for local musical groups as well as their range of activity (not included here).

<sup>15</sup> Culturally isolated from their “Kalotaszegian” neighbours, communities that experienced an early rise of the middle-class (Gyalu, Egeres, Szászfenés) do not compare themselves to others and in fact emphasise that they stand alone (which also illustrates that “similarity” is mainly perceived in external features.) It is a different issue that the early development of middle-class society can be observed in communities which for one reason or another had already created a unique kind of social and economic model in the past. Isolation from the Kalotaszeg environment is therefore evident on multiple levels, both in a cultural sense and with respect to the contacts determined by historical socio-economic antecedents.



time" Felszeg fashion ideal retained in the plainer and more simplistic ornamentation of local costumes is most often associated with Kalotaszek, which already enjoys great prestige due to various other factors. More villages wish to be similar to Kalotaszek than the number of settlements that actually maintain contact with it. Despite the above, "simplicity" is often seen to be manifested in personal traits, virtues and congeniality as well. Intensive contact between villages also entails mutual respect, which not only focuses on external similarities, but also emphasizes spiritual closeness. In certain cases, there is a striking and mutually supported level of congeniality and solidarity between two neighboring villages. This phenomenon does not repeat automatically, and the reasons behind it can not be explained with schematic simplicity either. We observed this kind of solidarity in only a few cases (e.g.: "It's almost like we're brothers" "Our people and our dress are the same.")

Contacts between individual communities, villages and groups of settlements can be based either on an equal ranking or a vertical, superior-inferior hierarchy. There is no space here to even sketch up what factors can contribute to threads of contact between communities developed according to a central formula.

The map of marriage circles also attempts to demonstrate the prestige of villages and how they are perceived by others. Based on the consensus within each sub-region, we have indicated the most prestigious villages in the given group of settlements. There is also universal consensus as to which villages are regarded with contempt and disparaged everywhere, and with whom marriage ties were considered degrading. The rankings indicate that within the micro-regions outlined according to marriage ties, each sub-region consistently displays positive and negative peaks on its own ranking scale. (Figure 4)

## THE STRUCTURE OF MICRO-REGIONS OF KALOTASZEG DELINEATED ON THE BASIS OF THE SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE TIES

Based on the density of marriage circles within the territory under study, the region can be divided into four main sub-regions (South-West, North-West, North-East, South-East). (See the brief description below the points A/1-4.) Within the territory of the main sub-regions there are three enclosure-like, endogamous local communities exist separately from or loosely attached to these sub-regions (B/1-3), as well as a few compact marriage circles comprising several communities that integrate outside the network of contacts within Kalotaszek, and which exhibit no communal ties with the larger region (C/1-2). The perimeter of this territory still recalls the contacts maintained with villages once populated by Hungarians within the larger historical region, which today have become purely Romanian in their ethnic make-up (D). (These former networks have been also designated in Figure 3 and 4.) Wherever we encountered examples that could serve as valuable models, we have included smaller case-studies to illustrate their strength.

A closer examination of the four main sub-regions (South-West, North-West, North-East and South-East) revealed on the basis of marriage circles should emphasize the following elements: Two of the four are in the west and two in the east and surprisingly, the border running from north to south between them directly correlates with the line between

two medieval counties, which remained in this form until the 15<sup>th</sup> century – (Bihar and Kolozs) and that of the corresponding units of church administration (the archdeaconries of Kalota and Kolozs). This indicates that the assemblage of human contacts during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century essentially continued to reflect the spatial borders of institutional networks that were established from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and which functioned according to this structure until the late Middle-Ages.

Denser networks of contact enduring compact structures can be observed within these western micro-regions where - as will be shown - usage of the names “Kalota” and “Kalotaszeg” can be confirmed using the earliest historical sources available.

Sporadic data contained in already published source documentation also implies the surprising antiquity of the marriage circles outlined above, their origins tracing back to the Middle-Ages. The data are random and do not reveal a complete structure, but they do indicate certain trends and essentially confirm the trends that we have discovered.

#### A.

##### A/1 *“Felszeg”, the South-West sub-region*

An area located partly in the valley of Kalota at a height of 500–600 meters near the Vladeasa Mountains and characterized by poorer soil conditions rather apt for animal husbandry, has been separately designated by the name Felszeg since the Middle-Ages.<sup>16</sup> The term “Kalota” appears in several documents from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Upon examining the history of the region, however, one begins to sense the threads of contact that connected seemingly scattered villages.

The early history is inseparable from that of the noble Gyerő family and very early data on the history of this estate already connected it with the term “Kalota”.<sup>17</sup> The G(y)erő or Gyerőfi – a family of several branches (Kabos, Radó and Kemény) were the oldest noble lineages in the region, and the two most important centers of life on their estate of about 15 villages (CSÁNKI 1913: 270, 358.) also inherited their names: Gyerővásárhely and Gyerőmonostor, the former being a significant and lucrative marketplace and the latter providing a spiritual centre with its Benedictine monastery, which is also one of the most outstanding architectural monuments in Kalotaszeg. Stories also tell of a legendary medieval Catholic pilgrimage site at Jézus-bérce, on a mountain slope somewhere between Gyerőmonostor and Magyarvalkó. (TÉGLÁSI 1891: 90.) It was not only close proximity and common property ownership, but also mutual history of church administration that connected some villages more closely, which were affiliates of the mother-churches before or after the Reformation (middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century).

Beside the above private noble estate, there were other systems of ownership and administration. Villages in Felszeg and Alszeg (the sub-region to the North-West) belonged under the jurisdiction of two large royal castle estates, Sebesvár and Almás, which constituted an independent administrative unit and passed into the hands of private land-owners in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Each micro-region had its own spiritual and market centre early on.

<sup>16</sup> The micro-region includes 12 Hungarian and Hungarian–Romanian villages. In light of historical as well as cultural aspects, one must also take into account 16 one-time Hungarian inhabited villages in the vicinity – now populated exclusively by Romanians.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. in the following document from 1296: “Tributum quod in villa Vasarhel vocata (a johanne filio Mykola de Kalatha) ab antiquo exigui consuevit” (CSÁNKI 1913: 358.)

Several records prepared during the 15<sup>th</sup> century in connection with the Bánffy castle estate in Sebesvár contain separate references to villages belonging to “Kalathazeg”. The territory that lies to the south of Bánffyhunyard<sup>18</sup> is still referred to by local Hungarians as Felszeg and is given a higher ranking. Medieval sources used the term Kalotaszeg exclusively in reference to this area, and it was only during the 17<sup>th</sup> century that other sources began to mention both Felszeg and Alszeg together as Kalotaszeg. (JAKÓ 1944:217) Their names meaning “Upper End” and “Lower End” in itself show that the two micro-regions once comprised a coherent unit.

Moreover regarding marriage ties, the densest network of connections developed in Felszeg. Although there are a few geographically isolated settlements that stand on the periphery, it is striking that the majority of villages in Felszeg maintained and continue to maintain regular contact with one another.<sup>19</sup> In this way, the opportunity for achieving a genetic balance was relatively secure, and locals possess a surprising amount of knowledge about their neighboring villagers due to this far-reaching network of kin-connections. It is here that a compact sense of space is most obvious, where the name denotes a perception of “regional unity”, and since there is no uncertainty concerning where its borders are, the area displays the strongest common regional identity as well.

We experienced this proud Kalotaszeg consciousness in numerous situations throughout the villages of Felszeg, where local Hungarians regard themselves as a true manifestation of “old and genuine” Kalotaszeg culture. They take great pride in the value of its “older”, simpler and more temperate nature, including members of the younger generation. The prestige of Felszeg is also acknowledged in Alszeg, where locals mentioned Kalotaszekirály (a central village of Felszeg)<sup>20</sup> as “the real Kalotaszeg”, but this sense of prominence of Felszeg can also be found in the more distant Eastern areas as well.

#### *A/2 “Alszeg” the sub-region in the North-West*

“Alszeg”, north of Bánffyhunyard has a segmented topography in the valley along the Almás riverbed, and in several smaller valleys and basins. Alszeg offers an altogether more favorable soil quality and climate for farming than the Felszeg, and had significant grain, fruit and grape production.<sup>21</sup>

The Hungarian populace of Alszeg is the ethnically most fragile group in Kalotaszeg. Among the 9 villages traditionally listed, the number of Hungarian residents decreased dramatically from 1910–1992, and today the Hungarian population in the area totals approximately 2,500 individuals. In four out of the nine villages<sup>22</sup> Romanian inhabitants

<sup>18</sup> Bánffyhunyard which is the economic hub of the area was the market centre of the Bánffy estate and received its town privilege in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>19</sup> Among the eleven-twelve villages that comprise Felszeg, five in the core maintain a frequent and regular circle of marriage ties. The same villages also have expanded though less frequent connections with four other communities. Among all of the villages in this network, intensive contact was apparent between a few neighboring pairs.

<sup>20</sup> Among the surrounding settlements, it is primarily Kalotaszekirály that is favorably compared to Bánffyhunyard, due to its unquestionably secure and outstanding prestige, relatively large population and the strong cohesion of its community.

<sup>21</sup> 9 partly or entirely Hungarian plus 7 non-Hungarian communities are located in the area.

<sup>22</sup> Váralmás, Nagypetri, Farnas, Bábonny.

already constituted a majority in 1910. This ethnic ratio of a century ago was essentially a projection of the current prestige hierarchy. Today, the “strongest” villages are Ketesd, Zsobok and Magyarbikal, which still remain purely Hungarian. Ethnic presence, opportunities to avoid extinction and the corresponding capacity to meet current economic challenges – the ability to survive – has now become a decisive factor in the prestige of these villages.<sup>23</sup>

#### *A/3–4 The micro-regions in the East*

The Western and Eastern sub-, and micro-regions nearer to Cluj are separated from by the mountain pass running from northeast to southwest – the watershed of the Körös and Szamos river basins which also serve as a Romanian ethnic corridor. Although the territory expanding to the East has a rich past, it was historically not connected to Kalotaszeg. Contrary to popular opinion, it should be emphasized here that Nádas Valley and other territories near Kolozsvár were not settled later than Felszeg and Alszeg, but were in all likelihood populated earlier or at the same time as the Western regions discussed above.<sup>24</sup> During the Middle-Ages, the territory closer to Kolozsvár belonged under the authority of the royal castle at Kolozs. As the royal estate disintegrated over the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, two large domains developed in the area and a large majority of the local population was part of these serfdoms. The social composition of the region was enhanced by a few smaller country manors and villages of noble status.<sup>25</sup> Here in the eastern part, it is also two micro-regions that reveal themselves: the marriage circle of 11–12 villages along the Nádas, Kapus, Kis-Szamos rivers can be found in the North-East, and 3–4 Hungarian villages in the Fenes Valley comprise a smaller and more compact micro-region in the South-East.

Communities indicated in bold and underlined on Chart I (see next page) represent the villages in each micro-region that had the highest number of marriage ties (at least 8) with other villages. The next in line (at least 5–7) have been indicated only in bold. (Regarding their network of contacts, it is not by accident that Gyerővásárhely and Kapus are listed in the north-eastern group.)

<sup>23</sup> About the tendency of ethnic extinction and the survival strategies of Hungarian Diaspora communities see BALOGH – FÜLEMILE 2006. Located in the direction of the Meszes Mountains is the smallest village of Bábonny, the most remote and ethnically/ demographically isolated settlement in Alszeg (35 inhabitants including 17 Hungarian), now showing the final signs of decay. However, during the 20th century it also used to be one of the most open and mobile communities in the region – wives from Bábonny can be found everywhere in Alszeg.

<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, the impressive romantic sketches of local history that appear in the beautifully written, sensitive and insightful literary work by Károly Kós entitled *Kalotaszeg* contain no verifiable data, and the inaccuracies that accompany the information that can actually be confirmed have been transformed into legends that are inseparable from the values of the “literate” in Kalotaszeg. The same is true of the following quote, which continues to endure even though it can not be verified and goes against the logic of Hungarian history: “*The western territory of Kalotaszeg, a more rugged area in the foothills of the Havas, is an older cultural region than the tamer northern and eastern parts, which have a more moderate climate and better soil. In fact, the first pioneers among the Hungarian peoples who occupied Transylvania settled in the bleaker territory under the mountains earlier...*” (Kós, 1937: 8)

<sup>25</sup> Such villages of lesser nobility included Szucsák, Méra, Koród, Szomordok and Buda (Bodonkút) near the Borsa Valley as well as Macskások, the nobles of which maintained marriage ties with the nobility of Szucság.

*Chart 1:* The degree of exogamy in villages from the first half to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

|                         |                        |                    |                     |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Southwest               | Northwest              | Northeast          | Southeast           |
| <b>Bhunyard</b>         | Mbikal                 | Gyerővsh.          | <u><b>Mlóna</b></u> |
| <u><b>Kdamos</b></u>    | <b>Ketesz</b>          | <b>Nagykapus</b>   | Mfenes              |
| <b>Jtelke</b>           | <b>Farnas</b>          | Kiskapus           | Tordasztl.          |
| Nyárszó                 | <u><b>Zsobok</b></u>   | Bogártelke         | Mléta               |
| <u><b>Kszkirály</b></u> | <u><b>Sztána</b></u>   | Ndaróc             |                     |
| <b>Zentelke</b>         | Kispetri               | Inaktelke          |                     |
| <b>Mkereke</b>          | Nagypetri              | <u><b>Mákó</b></u> |                     |
| Mvalkó                  | <u><b>Váralmás</b></u> | <b>Türe</b>        |                     |
| Mgymonostor             | Bábony                 | Mvista             |                     |
| <b>Sárvásár</b>         |                        | Méra               |                     |
| <b>Körösfő</b>          |                        | Kajántó            |                     |

The chart attempts to illustrate our conclusion that a majority of the villages in the western part of the territory maintained a higher and more consistent level of contact with each other, which points to a denser and more compact structure. At the same time, the eastern part shows a looser, more diffuse structure in which only a few villages play a more frequent and open mediating role. (See also Figure 3 and 4)

There are some key locations at each sub-region (such as Gyerővásárhely, Mákó or Lóna) with a very dense network of connection, which served as crossing point and typically played a connecting and mediating role between micro-regions.<sup>26</sup>

There are some villages on the periphery of the area that once played a central role (e. g. Türe or Magyargyerőmonostor) which slowly lost its contacts and gradually shifted to the periphery as the surrounding Hungarian population with which marriage ties were formed in the past died out.

In terms of its marital bonds, there are some low-prestige more isolated communities. Factors contributing to this restricted network of ties include the negative reputation originating partly from economic circumstances. Isolation is often apparent in only their marriage network; in terms of labor migration, these can be the most active communities. The mentality of their residents and their economic strategy are plausible examples of desperate attempts among poor peasants to search for a way out of their poverty-stricken existence.

#### *Regional structure as delineated by linguistic phenomena*

Illustrative linguistic maps often allow for conclusions regarding socio-historical and local historical connections as well. It was Attila T. Szabó who played a decisive role in observing and consistently recording historical and living regional dialects in Kalotaszeg.<sup>27</sup> The results of this data also reveal a refined network within the region itself. Comparing

<sup>26</sup> There is no space here to enlist all those geographic, economic and social factors which shaped the special role of these communities.

<sup>27</sup> During the second half of the 1930s, he began conducting expansive field-work in Kalotaszeg as well as beyond its borders in the Borsa Valley and towards the Mezőség region, collecting data in 60 locations. More than 3,500 items of data were recorded in each location. SZABÓ – GÁLLFY – MÁRTON 1944.



the spatial structure delineated by marriage ties with the delicate internal structure derived from linguistic phenomena, similarities become very clear and ultimately involve two aspects of the same phenomenon. Obviously, groups that have participated in a circle of marriage ties for long periods of history through more frequent communication with one another also adapt to one another linguistically and in terms of cultural representation.

In any case, it is remarkable that linguistic structures within the region consistently draw borders around certain micro-regions. In terms of language, the most striking and unique micro-region of Kalotaszeg is the Felszeg, which also contains its own smaller linguistic circles, moreover, all of this correlates with our own delineated structure. Connecting Bánffyhuntyad with Kolozsvár, it is not only the closest centre of material innovation, but also the point from which local vernacular spreads outward. More noticeable is the fact that in many cases the linguistic phenomena associated with the lesser nobility of Kalotaszentkirály diverge from those of its surrounding micro-region.<sup>28</sup>

Another larger unit that can also be more or less outlined is Alszeg.<sup>29</sup> In the majority of cases, parts of the eastern region in the direction of Cluj diverge linguistically, and the segmentation within is more random, making it more difficult to arrive at conclusions. In view of similarities to regional structure based on marriage ties, the image here is also not as clear as that of Felszeg and Alszeg.<sup>30</sup>

## EXTERNAL BOUNDARIES – UNITS INTEGRATING OUTWARDS FROM THE “KALOTASZEGIAN” NETWORK OF MARRIAGE TIES

### *B Endogamous, secluded enclosures*

#### *B/1 Jegenye*

Located in the geographic centre of Reformed Presbyterian Kalotaszeg, the Catholic population of Jegenye comprise a fully secluded endogamous community. Jegenye is an exceptionally isolated and unaccepted poor peasant village in the region.<sup>31</sup> Inhabitants of

<sup>28</sup> This separation is especially noticeable if we take into consideration that in many aspects the dialect in Kalotaszentkirály also differs from that of its twin-village, Zentelke the locality of one-time serfpeasants, with which, as previously mentioned, it did not maintain strong marital bonds. The Kalotaszentkirály dialect is more similar to the one prevalent in Magyarókerke, which was also home to many families of lesser nobility. Even so, it should be pointed out here that in terms of its clothing style and domestic culture, Magyarókerke adopted a more featureless middle-class style at a faster pace than its traditionalistic counterpart. Taking only a superficial glance – and if we only take certain ethnographic-cultural expressions as a starting point – one would never assume a tighter connection between the two, and yet their marital bonds, linguistic features and a conscious sense of common identity that is still voiced today clearly suggest a deeply rooted bond.

<sup>29</sup> Linguistically speaking, the northern border of Alszeg can be drawn again at Középlak.

<sup>30</sup> It is clear, however, that Egeres is a starting point for the wider dispersion of colloquial forms in a way similar to Bánffyhuntyad. Near Kolozsvár, the dialect of Szucság is more colloquial, more literary – derived from its noble past.

<sup>31</sup> Practically almost without exception, all of the males in the village were miners in Egeres and were farming an average of 3–4 hectares of land as a side-line in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Jegenye practiced “centuries of tight inbreeding”.<sup>32</sup> Partners were sought almost exclusively within the small community<sup>33</sup> and marriages between second-cousins occurred on a regular basis, one of the sad consequences of which is acknowledged by the inhabitants themselves, namely that there are many “unhappy” children in the village who suffer from genetic illnesses. In addition to numerous other social factors, one of the most important is that the inhabitants of Jegenye were settled here from other areas of Transylvania relatively late in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup> and did not intermarry with members of other religions in their environment. Also did not seek contact with other Catholic communities either. Jegenye counts as the odd-one-out in its cultural features as well. Its solitary style of dress during the period between the two world wars “didn’t stand close” to Kalotaszeg.

### *B/2 Egeres*

Due to the development of industry and mining at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the population of Egeres expanded and the village became an ethnically mixed settlement, after which its remaining Calvinist Hungarian inhabitants formed a closed endogamous community similar to that of Jegenye – all of which occurred within recent ethnographic memory. Their self-exclusion may be due to social distance originating from the time when the village was a market-town, followed later by the flood of migrants to the local mining colony during the early period of industrialization. The borders drawn between Egeres and the mixed populace of the industrial colony in Egeres-Forgácskút as they co-existed alongside one another is reminiscent of the resistant behavior displayed by other peasant communities against urban industrial sites during the early stages of their involvement in the increasingly capitalistic mining industry. Residents in the neighboring Catholic community of Jegenye summarized the situation thus: “Egeres is full of flotsam and jetsam, not too many natives, just flunkies from the Havas, real wild Romanians.”<sup>35</sup>

### *B/3 Gyalu*

The Hungarian community in the ethnically mixed town of Gyalu is the only one in the area under study where the decisive majority is Calvinists with no origins in nobility, yet they do not identify themselves with Kalotaszeg. The Hungarian population here is

<sup>32</sup> CSÍK – KÁLLAY 1942: 24. Birth certificates reflected the same kind of closed endogamy within the village in earlier periods before the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well. Differences between the people of Jegenye and those of Kalotaszeg can be confirmed by strong genetic data as well.

<sup>33</sup> 558 individuals in 1910, including 555 Hungarians, 529 Roman Catholics (6 Greek Catholics, 11 Calvinists, and 6 Israelites) KLINGHAMMER 2000: 119.

<sup>34</sup> CSÍK – KÁLLAY 1942: 10–11. After 1690, when Principality of Transylvania lost its independent status and during the period of 18<sup>th</sup> century Catholic revival, the Catholic Church regained its estates in Egeres–Jegenye, which had been previously confiscated by the principality, and brought Catholics from the area of Radnót along the Maros River to settle there.

<sup>35</sup> It was in Jegenye that we first heard about a series of serious anti-Hungarian atrocities in 1944 that took place in Egeres, where 16 Hungarians were executed by various means of torture, and these events are still very much alive in local memory. The perpetrators included local Romanians from both Egeres and Forgácskút. Disapproval in connection with this historical experience also contributes to social distance among locals, and not just in terms of traditional peasant repugnance towards “flotsam and jetsam” coming from outside of the community.

composed of this Calvinist majority and a Catholic minority. Gyalu was home to a significant number of craftsmen as well as peasants in the service of the large Bánffy castle and estate<sup>36</sup> and two other land-owners at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A high degree of social distance can be observed between the local community of artisans and the peasantry. Both strata form their own isolated endogamous circles within the town. Craftsmen in the village also owned land, but they did not “mix” with local peasants. Both craftsmen and peasants of Gyalu explicitly differentiate themselves from the neighboring Kalotaszeg villages referring primarily to notable differences in clothing style. As the settlement becomes more urbanized, the accelerated rate at which its Hungarian community shrinks and dissolves among the growing number of local Romanians has become an inevitable process.

*C. Marriage circles of local exogamy based on religious or social homogamy among local groups of Hungarians wedged in the territory of Kalotaszeg, who possess no Kalotaszeg identity*

*C/1 Roman Catholic Hungarians*

The minority of Hungarian Catholics living in four settlements within the Calvinist majority that populated the areas to the west and north of Kolozsvár formed their own closed circle of marriage ties, which does not include the aforementioned Catholic community of Jegenye.<sup>37</sup> Among the four communities mentioned, it was mainly Catholics from Bács and Szászfenes who maintained regular connections with one another, since the villages are in close proximity. The other two communities are further away in a distance of 20–30 km. They represented a more urbanized, middle-class culture, and do not regard themselves as part of Kalotaszeg. In their view, people of Kalotaszeg are the Calvinist peasants who wore traditional folk costume.

*C/2 Endogamous marriage circles within the stratum of lesser nobility*

In some villages, noble lineage continues to be a genuine factor in determining self-identity. The two most prominent examples are Szucság, located in the Nádas Valley near Cluj (Kolozsvár), and Középlak in the north-west edge of the area, in the Almás Valley. Members of the numerous lesser nobility in both villages exhibited a strong sense of noble origin, and this has determined their selection of marriage partners, socialization, strategies for mobility and cultural expression all the way up to the recent past (including interior decoration, style of dress and cuisine), clearly separating them from villages with a “Kalotaszeg identity”.

<sup>36</sup> Gyalu was the administrative centre for the estate owned by the Bishopric of Transylvania in the middle ages, and most of the historical population in the surrounding villages consisted of serfs who worked on this estate. The castle and its lands changed hands several times over the centuries, yet the domain continued to retain its significance and economic influence throughout. JAKÓ 1944

<sup>37</sup> It does, however, embrace the considerably large Hungarian Catholic majority of Kisbács and Szászfenes as well the Hungarian Catholic minority in Kajántó and Magyarfenes.

The marriage ties of Calvinist lesser nobility in Szucság extend to the nobility of other noble Calvinist communities further away.<sup>38</sup> This network arches over long distances to the east and northeast. Stronger links existed mainly with Bodonkút and Kide. Local opinion maintains that the “precedence” of Szucság in the hierarchy of villages was unquestionable.<sup>39</sup>

### *C/3. Models of noble and middle class regional identities*

It is worth differentiating here models of identity of the local nobility. Communities with a population of small noble origin in the territory of Kalotaszeg and its wider environment can basically be ranked in two categories: one represented by Szucság, and the other by Kalotaszeg in the Felszeg. Put in simpler terms, one could also say that the first group did not possess a Kalotaszeg identity while the second one does.

Usage of the designative name ‘Kalotaszeg’ in Felszeg (as we have seen) is deeply rooted in the early Middle-Ages and originates from the historical–regional–social identity that was consciously assumed and expressed by the noble strata as proof of their ancient origins and then adopted by the peasantry as well. In the case of Felszeg, the prestige, customs and mentality that comprised Kalotaszeg consciousness throughout the entire peasant community were strengthened, formed and elevated by the presence of nobility. In contrast, the same consciousness could not appear in the corresponding deep layers of historical–social consciousness among the nobility in Szucság because the historical region of Nádas-mente was not part of the territorial-administrative unit that comprised the Kalotaszeg region, which still continued to provide the framework for the military and political organisation of local nobility prior and during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

These two types of noble identity can also help us to better understand 2 versions of middle-class development. A comparison of well-to-do middle-class craftsmen and peasants in Bánffyahunyad, who expressed a proud Kalotaszeg consciousness, and middle-class artisans in Gyalu, whose mentality did not include a sense of Kalotaszeg identity, can lead us to similar conclusions.

### *D. Kalotaszeg vanished in time*

The decline of the Hungarian population within a territory that can be perceived as an island of Hungarian language is a historical process reaching far into the past and may also be interpreted as a continuous shift in the spatial network of the region. Which of the set-

<sup>38</sup> There was once a significant population of Calvinist small nobles in the Borsa valley in Bodonkút, Kide, Magyarfodorháza, Bádok and Macskások. By the time of the population census in 1910, however, only a few Hungarian families remained in many of these villages, and some had moved on to Bodonkút. As the Hungarian population decreased, these communities ceased to play a role in the earlier system of contacts. A decline in the Hungarian population of these villages was an inevitable process throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>39</sup> It was primarily men from Szucság who brought home wives from other villages in the circle and women from Szucság became brides in other settlements. The elderly women of Szucság also confirm that “bachelors from Szucság were much sought after” and that “girls from the other noble villages clung to suitors from Szucság.” According to villagers in Szucság, still the most respected marriages among families of noble lineage were those that were consummated within the village. In fact, almost all elderly members of the local nobility are related to one another through cousinry.

lements lost their Hungarian population and fell out of the network of ties and then from collective memory?

The logic and dynamic of this process is very similar from case to case. It can be ascertained that in villages counting less than 100 inhabitants in 1910, the local Hungarian community ceased to exist within 50–70 years. Some people moved away, some assimilated, and some died. (Numerous prominent examples can be found along the perimeter of all four Kalotaszeg sub-regions.<sup>40</sup>) The following analogy best serves to illustrate the historical process of the shrinking of ethnic territory: at first glance, a cavity filled with water on a sandy beach appears to hold the water, but then the water is absorbed at an increasingly faster pace. The place left after the water is absorbed becomes a damp rim which can still be seen close to the surface of the water for some time.

It is more or less verifiable that in ethnically mixed villages where the Hungarian population still comprised approximately 50 individuals a century ago, our informants' network of connections still contains one or two living acquaintances whose family history can be traced back to the already empty territory. In places where the Hungarian community was represented by only 10–20 people a century ago, locals still have knowledge about them, but living witnesses can hardly be found anymore, and in cases where the population vanished earlier, only sparse bits of data are available and researchers must rely exclusively on historical sources.

In any case, using historical sources and/or collective memory as a basis, we can see that the borders of the region are constantly changing; villages that are presumably not part of the regional structure today may have been integral parts of it 100–200 years ago. (Alongside the ones that still exist, our map of marriage ties also indicates some former connections that can still be verified in collective memory. Figure 4.)

Taking all of this into consideration, we might ask how valid is to use the term “Kalotaszeg” in this variable and ever-changing system? As a unit, aspects of historical data, networks of connection and structures of local identity (self-determination) enable us to sense that this primarily geographic–historical regional structure, which can be delineated according to religious–ethnic parameters, has been under development since the Middle-Ages, presenting a mosaic consisting of several micro-regions, the elements of

<sup>40</sup> In addition to the cases mentioned earlier, we have chosen to describe only one significant example on the edge of the Alszege sub-region. Located on the north-western border of Kalotaszeg, the village of Középlak was once the mother church of “Tamásfalva” (officially called Almástamási), a formerly Hungarian settlement that certainly belonged to the Alszege at some point and its Hungarian population having completely disappeared by the 20th century. Today, hardly any trace remains of the destroyed church of otherwise medieval origin. The heirlooms from Tamásfalva (2 pewter chalices and 2 platters) were transferred to the mother-church of Középlak. (The inscription on one of the platters says that it belonged to the Reformed Church of Tamásfalva in 1764 “*Tamasfalvi Reformata Ecclesiae A. 1764*”.) A local history written in 1842 bears witness to the fact that Hungarians lived there and also that the village was considered to be part of historical Kalotaszeg. “*Tamási is a Hungarian–Romanian village with fertile soil*” belonging to Kalotaszeg (TÉGLÁSI 1891: 138.) The so-called “*Family Book*” [Családkönyv] in Középlak under the heading “*Population Census of Tamásfalva, 1870*” lists by name the total of 9 families i.e. 35 Hungarian persons. In 1910, only 14 Hungarians were living among 595 Orthodox Romanians. (KLINGHAMMER 2000: 89) As we walked through the village, locals showed us the Hungarian cemetery, where only 2 vandalised grave-markers were standing in 2000. The name “*Nemes*” (which means “Noble” in Hungarian) can still be found as a Romanian family name in the village.

which did not always identify with one another (or not at all), or formed in keeping with criteria entirely different from what we may assume on the basis of our knowledge today. Usage of the name “Kalotaszeg” has its own history as well, its content changing within a diachronic cross-section of time.

## LAYERS OF KALOTASZEG-IDENTITY AND MENTAL MAPS OF HIERARCHIC STRUCTURE OF THE REGION

Based on the characteristics of the fine internal micro-regional structure of the area outlined by the network of marriage ties as well as the self-proclaimed identity of locals and their image of others, it is possible to separate and verify three layers of Kalotaszeg consciousness. On the level of hypothesis, we suggest the following terminology: *Old Kalotaszeg* awareness is present in the western half of the region, including Felszeg and Alszeg. *New Kalotaszegians* comprise the (Hungarian Calvinist peasant-origin) inhabitants of the territory east of the Körös and Szamos watershed up to Cluj including the Nádas Valley. We use the term *Latest Kalotaszegians* to distinguish three villages in the Fenes Valley<sup>41</sup> located to the southwest of Cluj and the village of Kajántó, north of Cluj.

Our most important criteria included the age, cohesion and structure of regional identity among local inhabitants. (We should emphasize that it was not the age of local identity that we focused on; – the Hungarian villages in the region have been existing since the early Middle-Ages and have been recorded via written documents since the 13<sup>th</sup> century.) A comparison of grass-roots identities revealed a unique system of relationships according to which local residents rank themselves as belonging to the larger region of Kalotaszeg. We discovered various levels of self-categorization, and it is primarily on this basis that we feel justified in using the three terms listed above. In addition, we are able to support our suggestions with numerous aspects of social, economic and ecclesiastical history not detailed here.

### *New and old layers of Kalotaszeg identity:*

We encountered comments like the following everywhere in the Nádasmente (Nádas Valley area *New Kalotaszeg*): “Kalotaszeg was up there in the Felszeg, in Kalotaszentkirály, it started after Körösfő and Zsobok. We’re part of the section along Nádas River.” Viewed from Nádasmente, it is said that Kalotaszeg starts further away west of them. They admit, acknowledge and respect the precedence of Felszeg and Alszeg, which they regard as the “genuine old Kalotaszeg.” Even so, they primarily refer to themselves as “Nádasmentians”, even among the generation born during the 1930s and 40s.

Historic data also support this view. Historically, the area reaching east close to Cluj was not considered to be part of Kalotaszeg. It was only after the ethnographic discovery of local folk art during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that the name was expanded to include other sub- and micro-regions on the basis of cultural traits. In the same way, the ethnographic borders of Kalotaszeg change from author to author, vacillating between 30–50 villages.

<sup>41</sup> Magyarfenes, Tordaszentlászló, Magyarléta.



József Téglási Ercsey, the first to describe the region of Kalotaszeg in 1842, went beyond the Hungarian villages of Felszeg and counted in purely Romanian settlements, but omitted several of the Hungarian settlements in the area, listing a total of 44 communities from the Western. (TÉGLÁSI 1891:98, 112, 113, 126, 137, 138) At the time, the eastern regions were not yet part of his research. Téglási's perspective shows that the meaning of the expression "Kalotaszeg" during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century still corresponded to the term used to denote the historical region in previous centuries designating a given unit of public and economic administration from which settlements had not yet been omitted. Ethnic and cultural aspects did not play a role in this description (which essentially correlated with the traditional premodern view of contemporary multiethnic historical Hungary).

It took exactly 50 years for this view to change – not yet in the consciousness of local inhabitants, but due to the insights of an influential ethnographer. János Jankó was the first monographer of Kalotaszeg in 1892 and conducted research on 34 villages. (JANKÓ 1993: 4–5) He did not include the Romanian villages in his studies. In harmony with the view held by the local Hungarian population, Jankó only considered the Hungarian populace to be part of Kalotaszeg, in spite of the fact that he was familiar with Ercsey Téglási's work. On the other hand, his research was not limited exclusively to those Hungarian communities that his energetic contemporaries among the gentry-origin intelligentsia of the region, Zsigmond Gyarmathy and wife, attempted to present to the general public of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and where they painstakingly developed the domestic arts movement.<sup>42</sup> An older academic, Antal Herrmann, was the one who persuaded Jankó to cross from Felszeg to another valley to the pleasant bathing location of Jegénye, and from there he was only one step away from discovering Nádasmente and the Kapus Valley, a territory which he then included within a new, spreading concept of "Kalotaszeg" obviously based on aspects of ethnography. Villages in the South-East subregion in the Fenes Valley, however, did not appear on his map, although his writing indicates that he collected information there as well.

In parallel with the scholarly discoveries of János Jankó came an intensive period in the "discovery" of folk art in Kalotaszeg, and with the effective support of elite circles and the art world of the Monarchy, Jankó was able to garner a widespread reputation for the region, where the budding network of domestic industry made great efforts to keep up with the increased level of interest.<sup>43</sup> The Malonyay art team<sup>44</sup> essentially followed the trail blazed by Jankó, the only difference being that they also studied the Romanian village of Magyarnádas in the Nádas valley, thus adding a 35<sup>th</sup> village to Jankó's original 34 Hungarian settlements. (Figure 5) Magyarnádas was the postal and railway centre and headquarters of the local constabulary, so the artists' visit was presumably not guided by any concept, but

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Bánffyhunyd, Magyarbikal, Magyargyerőmonostor.

<sup>43</sup> Our task is not to outline this phenomenon, even superficially. The issue is addressed from a number of perspectives in lectures published in connection with the exhibition at the Museum of Ethnography entitled "Kalotaszeg – The Discovery of Folk Art". *Néprajzi Értesítő* [Ethnographic Bulletin] LXXX, 1998

<sup>44</sup> These artists primarily belonged to the circle of artists working at the Secessionist art colony in Gödöllő. They travelled the region at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and published richly illustrated volumes entitled "Art of the Hungarian People", greatly boosting the discovery of contemporary folk art. The first volume in this influential series presented Kalotaszeg, which had by then already developed an increasingly strong reputation. (MALONYAI 1907)

merely due to the fact that they already took care of business their anyway. The book entitled *Kalotaszeg*, written by Károly Kós Sr. in 1937, emphasises Felszeg (SW), Alszeg (NW) and Nádasmente (NE) as the main sub-regions, but also mentions the southeast territory the Fenes Valley as well (Kós 1937: 5).

It is not by accident that we are focusing here on ethnographic works intended for the general public. These publications were strongly responsible for forming the image of *Kalotaszeg* in public consciousness. The interaction that subsequently occurred between the fields of literature and ethnography, and between public and local consciousness is a story of continuous evolution. (Figure 6, 7, 8)

In the period of time since János Jankó conducted his research, the field of ethnography achieved a much debated but widely recognized consensus regarding the terminology used to divide the sub-regions of *Kalotaszeg*, which was often a source of professional anxiety.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, following the turn of the last century, the profession clearly regarded Nádasmente (on the northeast) to be part of *Kalotaszeg*, despite the fact that locals held a different view of themselves. As a newfound “*Kalotaszeg*-consciousness” gained strength among Nádasmentians during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, “Nádasmente-consciousness” simultaneously faded and became secondary.

This shift in identity was primarily influenced by outside impulses, including ones not mentioned above: the “*Gyöngyösbokréta*” [‘Pearly Bouquet’] dance movement<sup>46</sup> in Hungary, which was also organized in northern Transylvania in 1940–44; ethnographic research conducted in Nádasmente by the Hungarian Scouting Association<sup>47</sup> and ethnographic and linguistic studies conducted by the University of Sciences in Kolozsvár.<sup>48</sup>

Later during the period of Socialism in Romania in the 1970s and 80s, the widely read Hungarian language minority press as well as magazines in Hungary regularly published reports on Nádasmente as part of “*Kalotaszeg*.”<sup>49</sup> At home in the villages of Nádas Valley famous about their stunning folk costume, proudly guarded photo reports from the Hungarian magazine “*Nők Lapja*” [Women’s Journal] and reverently framed cover portraits by the well-known photographer Péter Korniss testify to the fact that the impact of this period on self-identity can not be ignored. (Figure 8)

Following in the footsteps of music and dance researchers, the dance-house (*táncház*) movement of the late 1970s and early 80s in Hungary and Transylvania brought lots of visitors to the “sacred” sites of “*Kalotaszeg*” music and dance (primarily Méra, Vista and Inaktelke of the Nádas Valley region), where not a single wedding feast could take place without guests from Budapest enjoying the hospitality of famous families. (BALOGH – FÜLEMILE 2008)

<sup>45</sup> E.g. KÜRTI 2000.

<sup>46</sup> During the 1930s and 40s, Budapest journalist Béla Paulini organised a chain of cultural preservation groups among villages in Hungary that still kept relatively traditional styles of peasant costume, dance and music culture. These groups regularly performed in Budapest during the national celebrations on St. Stephen’s Day, the most important national holiday.

<sup>47</sup> Museum of Ethnography, EA 21591, Results of Village History Questionnaire, Hungarian National Scouting Association, Pál Teleki Tour, 1943, Report (manuscript)

<sup>48</sup> In 1940–1944 Northern part of Transylvania was annexed back to Hungary. The university in Kolozsvár was also reorganised by Hungary. A great deal of scholarly interest in archaeology, linguistics, history and ethnography was directed toward Transylvania during the brief four years.

<sup>49</sup> E. g. see: KESZEG – POZSONY 2001: item 534.

In the relatively prosperous early period of Romanian socialism (1960s, early 1970s), income derived from industrial work was pumped back into the local community, resulting in an unparalleled period of thriving culture in Nádásmente, which was also apparent in the revival of construction (stone and brick houses, stone and iron gates), furniture painting, and the glitter and ornamentation of folk costumes. This delayed and overwhelming desire for decoration and a rise in the prestige of abundant material culture appeared during an anachronistically late period when other areas were threatened by the dissolution and disintegration of peasant culture.

The romantic nature of this late surge in cultural preservation brought floods of adherents to Transylvanian communities, and the consequent rise in the value of tradition inspired a conscious Kalotaszeg identity in Nádásmente. "It was really all this tourism that told everybody that we're part of Kalotaszeg." In Méra, locals expressed themselves with pride: "They've stopped wearing costumes in Felszeg. There they just take them out of the trunk. Here in Nádásmente, folk dress is alive and developing. It's only here that you can still find the real Kalotaszeg folk art."

### *The latest to adopt a Kalotaszeg regional identity*

The suggested term *Latest Kalotaszeg* denotes the South-eastern micro-region in the Fenes River Valley and the secluded Kajántó to the north of Cluj.

Among the villages of the Fenes Valley the folk dress of Magyarfenés, Tordaszentlászló, and Magyarléta, is quite different from the Kalotaszeg style of the settlements mentioned above.<sup>50</sup> Looking from the Nádásmente, these villages are regarded thus: "They're not so much like Kalotaszeg as we are." Magyarlóna, which is located near the main road at the gate of the valley, associates itself rather with Nádásmente.<sup>51</sup> In Magyarlóna, locals clearly regard themselves as part of Kalotaszeg, yet they claim the following as well: "But we're on the edge". Regarding Magyarfenés and Tordaszentlászló, the residents of Lóna have trouble deciding: "They're different. There were marriages, but their dress is different." "They went for blue." But when we go deeper in the valley to the South in the next village, in Magyarfenés locals also rank themselves with Kalotaszeg, but when commenting on Magyarléta, which is the village farthest to the South, they declare: "Anything beyond Léta is not Kalotaszeg anymore, but Léta is already more like part of the Havas Mountains." "Romanians belong to the Havas."

The regional awareness of Fenes Valley inhabitants is less certain; they can firmly declare that the Catholic Szászfenés, Gyalu and the surrounding Romanian population are not part of Kalotaszeg, but while Léta considers itself Kalotaszegian, the neighbors Lóna and Fenes are unsure about Léta. Locals also have a hard time deciding about the cultural identity of Tordaszentlászló (next to Léta) as well.

We experienced a coherent regional awareness in Felszeg and Alszeg (*Old Kalotaszeg*), where everyone can list members of the group, and in their intent to focus on the "real Kalotaszeg", the people of Nádásmente are in turn able to list the villages in Alszeg and

<sup>50</sup> The blue, cross-stitched, sleeves of shirts and different solutions for headdress and aprons clearly distinguish them from other regions of Kalotaszeg.

<sup>51</sup> Lóna primarily compares itself to the Nádásmente. "We're similar to Türe and Vista, but our dress isn't so fancy." "Those in the other valley (meaning Nádásmente) are different, fancier."

Felszeg. Nor is there any debate in Nádasmente concerning how far the area extends and which villages belong to it, yet the inhabitants of the Fenes Valley display uncertainty. This contradiction in terms of self-categorization and the ranking of others indicates that a kind of very new, learned Kalotaszeg consciousness is characteristic of the villages along the Fenes.

Kajántó (one single Hungarian ethnic enclave North of Cluj) even admits to its new Kalotaszeg awareness: "We just kind of became Kalotaszegians." "We stole their style of dress, too." "We shifted toward Kalotaszeg." "We're not really set in Kalotaszeg."

With respect to its marital connections and material culture, the small Hungarian Calvinist peasant community of Kajántó aligned itself with the villages of Nádasmente rather in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the fact that it is actually located in another valley along north of Cluj.<sup>52</sup> Kajántó also seems to be a secluded part of an earlier circle of Calvinist marriage ties that sought connections in the direction of Nádasmente, when it became isolated from an ethnic and a social point of view having had Hungarian neighbors only in villages who identified themselves with the lesser nobility and did not mix with other strata for social reasons. Yet the 9-kilometre distant Cluj offered numerous opportunities for mobility.

Kajántó covers a relatively large territory and the quality of its soil is quite high. Many did business by selling grain. Animal husbandry and dairy farming were also important. Stone-masons from Kajántó were well-known in the area. All of this meant that they enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. It should be noted precisely for this reason that this tiny handful of Calvinist peasantry did not undergo the "slumization" experienced by other bed-room communities within the agglomeration of larger cities, but consciously retained its peasant identity while seeking contact with Hungarian villages in Nádasmente.

Belated efforts by Kajántó to preserve its peasant traditions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are similar to the socio-historical phenomenon in which a conscious cultural conservatism enabled peasant communities within a "circle of gardens" around large modernizing cities in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and during the 20<sup>th</sup> century to become suppliers of the urban food industry. The impact of urbanization on these communities – the "us and them" opposition – did not immediately lead to discoloration and self-rendering, but in fact reinforced a conscious self-image manifested in "traditional" forms of outward expression – at least for a time – during an age already filled with contradiction.<sup>53</sup>

The dress style often seems to be a decisive proof of belonging. In any case, there is a consensus among all the communities in the region about the criteria (not including territory) that provide the basis for deciding who belongs to Kalotaszeg. As it was earlier mentioned the foremost is Hungarian identity along with the Calvinist faith. The second most important criterion for defining Kalotaszegians is that they are peasants. But another essential criterion expressed everywhere is the presence of the particular regional style

<sup>52</sup> Kajántó was characterised by significant mobility among its residents during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, primarily due to labour need in the local brick factory and the close proximity of Kolozsvár. By 1992, both the Romanian and the Hungarian population had gradually decreased to half of the total in 1930. Today, approximately 20% of inhabitants are Hungarian, including 365 Calvinists and 65 Catholics.

<sup>53</sup> The same can be said of the 20<sup>th</sup> century traditionalism in peasant communities like Méra, Vista, Magyarlóna, Györgyfalva and Hóstát, which were part of the same "circle of gardens" as Kajántó and which maintained labour/market contacts with Cluj/Kolozsvár.

folk dress. “Kalotaszeg is what it is because of its style of dress, “Kalotaszeg is best distinguished by its clothing.” claimed unanimously in every sub-region. (The prominent role of dress as a form of identification that expresses both internal and external borders between groups is well known among researchers of peasant culture.) Residents of villages that consider themselves to be part of Kalotaszeg assess their own identity as well as that of others on the basis of costume style. Their comparisons take into account various differences between certain elements of clothing, noting whether they are present at all or missing, which further deepens each group’s analysis of the other.

Calvinist peasants in Kajántó, for example, express their Kalotaszeg ranking in the following way: “We’ve moved towards Kalotaszeg”, “we stole the style”, “We weren’t really Kalotaszeg”, “we were just regarded that way.” The fact that the *párta* (a crescent shaped maiden headdress) is no longer worn locally is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that the vain of such accessory is a sign of defect; since there is no doubt that they regard the *párta* as an emblematic attribute of Kalotaszeg style. Even regarding elements of Kalotaszeg clothing worn by Romanians, both local Romanians and Hungarians mention that Romanians do not wear *párta*.

It is worth comparing what each local group considers to be the beginning of the Kalotaszeg territory and also where they rank themselves. Starting in the East with settlements close to Cluj each of them looks to the West to the direction of Felszeg, (*Old Kalotaszeg*). They claim themselves to be the starting point of the region, excluding neighbours to the East and including those to the West. It has the pattern of “domino fall”. Villagers in Lóna look back to West towards the region that is most certainly considered to be Kalotaszeg and compare themselves to Nagykapus. The residents of Nagykapus acknowledge this and rank themselves accordingly, but omit Lóna, which lies farther to the East and glance back in the direction of Felszeg and observe their counterparts in Gyerővásárhely. Going farther west again, in Gyerővásárhely, at the edge of Felszeg, it is said about the first village towards Felszeg that: “The real Kalotaszeg begins after Körösfő.” The same tendency can be seen in the other valley as well. The chain reaction is simple to trace: All things considered, villagers in Kajántó observe and follow the example of their counterparts in Nádasmente (Méra and Vista) to the West. Conscious attention is focused on some larger model-like communities that have been regarded as part of Kalotaszeg for a longer period of time, and which enjoy greater prestige, perhaps for this very reason. Vista’s point of reference is nearby Mákó to the West, which is the village with the highest long-standing prestige in Nádasmente. Meanwhile residents of Vista are also well-informed about the network of contacts in Felszeg and Alszeg, take them into account and there is no debate about the precedence of Alszeg in comparison to Nádasmente.

Within Alszeg, they observe Sztána and Zsobok, both of which enjoy respect and are visited more often due to their close proximity to the railroad. In addition, everyone in Vista knows that Kispetri is the wealthiest village.<sup>54</sup> In addition, it respects Felszeg as number one in the hierarchy of Kalotaszegians and considers Kalotaszegkirály to be a manifestation of real Kalotaszeg style. Its attention is also drawn to wealthy Körösfő and the market-town Bánffyhungad.

<sup>54</sup> Several maps included in the book dealing with folk costumes (FARAGÓ – NAGY – VÁMSZER 1977) clearly illustrate the observation of Felszeg and Alszeg from the perspective of Nádasmente.

The term “Kalotaszeg”, which originally designated a historical micro-region – and which the population of the original territory (Felszeg) has accepted and made their own – was gradually spreading to other micro-regions. The degree of self-definition is either stronger and more “confident” or weaker, depending on how early or late a given micro-region began to adopt the term. The length of time that precedence has lasted or the time that has elapsed since “entrance” also set an order of hierarchy in the relationship between micro-regions. (While a more significant sense of the Kalotaszeg concept can be felt in the case of Alszege, reaching to at least the 17th–18th century – precisely due to a mutual history of public administration and land ownership with Felszeg – the concept in Nádasmente is undoubtedly a new one that came from the outside.)

## SUMMARY

Our aim was to explore the factors which shape the formation of historical identity-regions and more specifically how regional identity was related to an expanding network of marriage ties. Our research involved an examination of a continuously shrinking territory of Hungarian ethnicity in order to explore the internal structures that can be outlined on the basis of human relationships formed within the given space and in light of conscious regional awareness among locals. In certain cases, smaller structures designate themselves, in other cases they do not, but at the same time, self-definition can certainly be assumed in terms of how participants place themselves and others along relational coordinates.

Circles of marriage ties are fundamental, integrative units of larger (than a local community) scale grass-roots social structures which comprises the densest network contacts based on personal interaction. The significant events of human life shared in the sphere of celebration via relational bonds, taste and appearance, correlating knowledge of folk customs and ensemble of objects involved, orientation in the world, values and the formation of opinions are all important factors that not only had an impact on the given familial relationships, but also comprised the cultural environment in which participants of the marriage circle developed a community. Bonds were not necessarily formed only between neighboring villages that maintained a continuous spatial contact with one another. Local societies were able to extend social, religious and ethnic bonds in various directions towards distant communities as well. This means that in many cases local bonds were often crossed by structures that integrated groups in accordance with priorities specific to certain social strata. Unless some drastic historical event interfered, marriage circles established through existing networks of contact and self-definition provided solid ground for the formation of human connections, influencing local genetic traits as well as the development of typical family names for several centuries. These traditional networks of contact and its mental and cultural projections have in certain cases determined the spatial orientation of people, the direction of their movement, their identity and their knowledge and opinions concerning their environment since the Middle-Ages, but it is only a matter of time before the point is reached where they can no longer be traced.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Systematic collectivization throughout Eastern-Europe in the late 1950s and the early 1960s initiated a flood of change in the region. The appropriation of land and agricultural tools immediately brought about the



Based on the research challenge and the methodology that we have concluded on as a result of our work in the region, we believe that the specific example of Kalotaszeg can also provide useful lessons in gaining a better general understanding of systematic examination of networks and regional identity in other regions as well.

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disintegration of previous patterns of life and social structure as well as the traditional family farms which provided their foundation. Forced mobilization towards cities and industrial centers also led to the rapid deterioration of traditional bonds and circles of marriage and inevitably accelerated decay of traditional peasant culture. While this process of disintegration could essentially be regarded as complete in Hungary by the 1980s, in certain areas of Transylvania it was delayed by 10–20 years and still continues to occur in the present. In addition to many other factors, it was the radical personality cult and isolationism of the Ceausescu regime during the late socialist period in Romania as well as the strict shortage economy of the 1980s that conserved and slowed socio-economic and cultural processes in the region. Following the political transition of 1989, and Romania's EU membership from 2007 however, the pace of modernization and globalization increased in Romania as well in areas that had previously remained somewhat relatively traditional, including Kalotaszeg.

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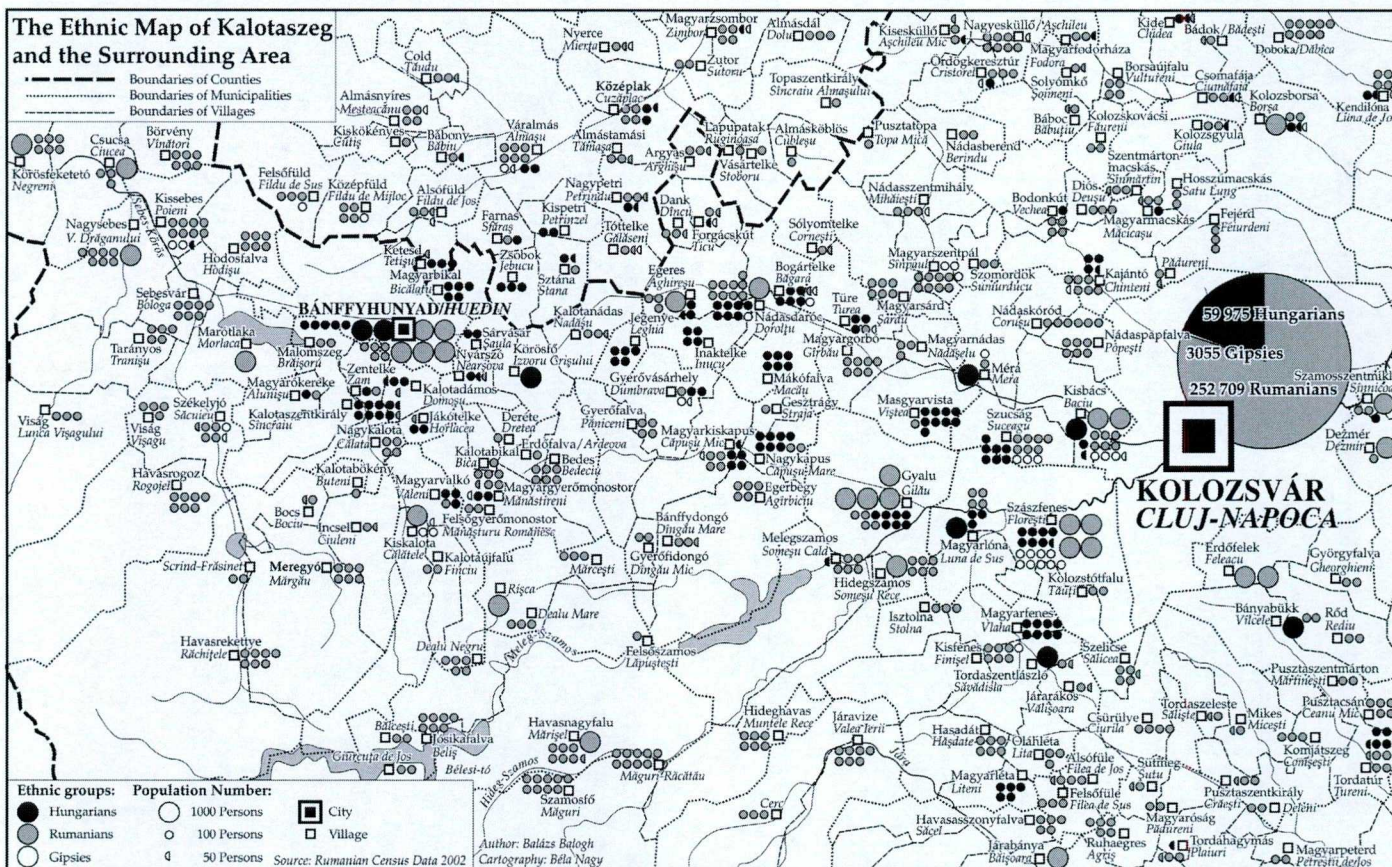


Figure 1: Ethnic Map of Kalotaszeg and the Surrounding Area, 2002 (Cartography by NAGY, Béla)



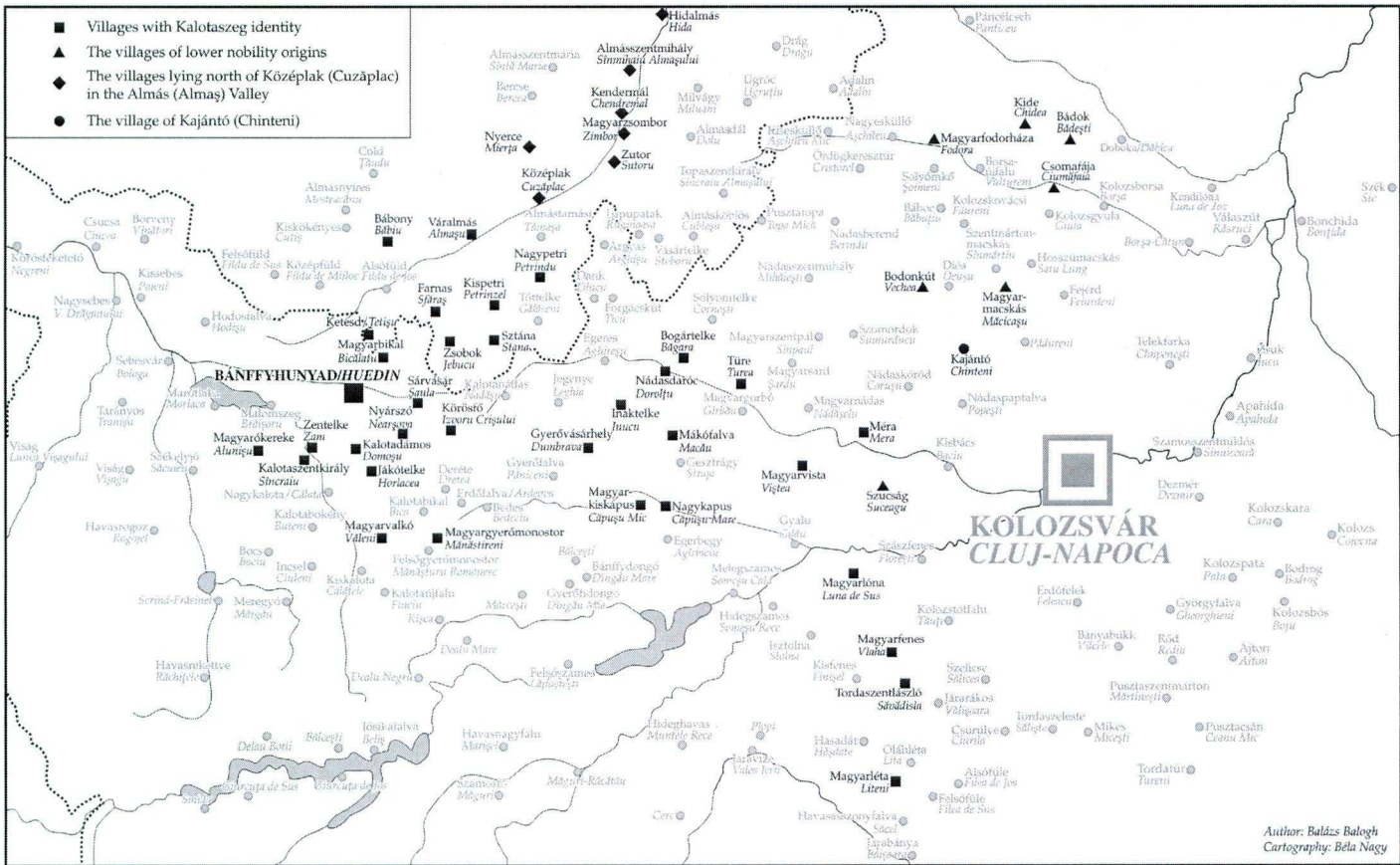


Figure 2: Map of Villages with (Certain Degree) of Kalotaszeg Identity (Cartography by NAGY, Béla)

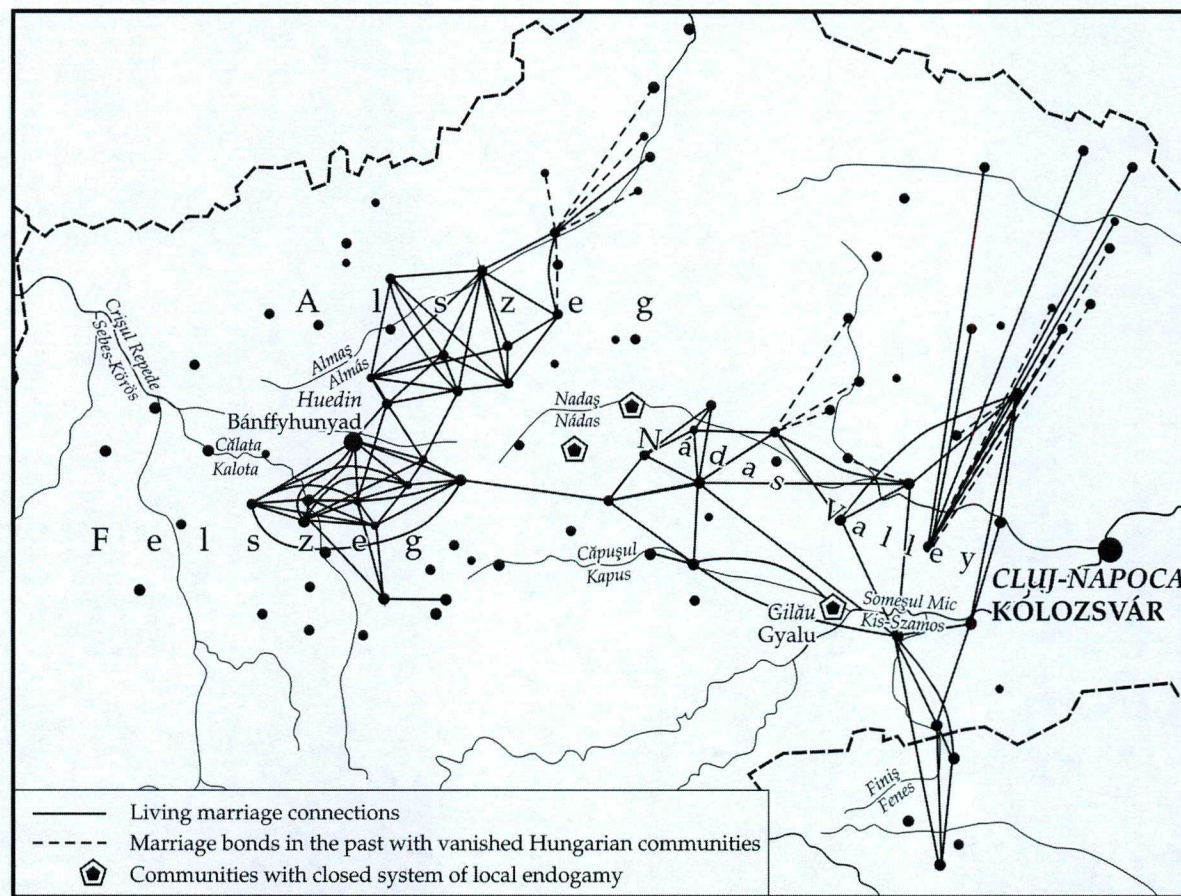


Figure 3: Basic Spatial Structure of System of Marriage Ties of the Hungarian Population of Kalotaszeg Region and the Surrounding Area in the Middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Cartography by NAGY, Béla)



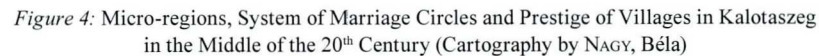


Figure 4: Micro-regions, System of Marriage Circles and Prestige of Villages in Kalotaszeg in the Middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Cartography by NAGY, Béla)





KALOTASZEGI NŐI ÉS FÉRFI VISELET (KÖRÖSFŐ, B.-HUNYAD, MAGYARÓKEREKE, MÁKÓ) (V. tb. b.)

Figure 5: Illustration from the First Famous Album on Kalotaszeg folk art produced by the Artists of the Gödöllő Colony (MALONYAY 1907: color table V b, between pp 48-49)



*Figure 6: Home Industry Exhibition of Textile Works from Kalotaszeg, Organized by Mrs. Gyula Kónya, Wife of the Calvinist Minister of Magyarvalkó in the 1930s. (Photo in private collection)*





*Figure 7: Inhabitants of Market Town of Bánffyhunyad on a Public Political Celebration in September of 1940 (Photo in private collection)*



*Figure 8: "Wedding at Körösfő", Press-photo of a Report by Rétvári, László (?) in the Popular Magazine Ország-Világ, cc. 1979 (Cut out in private collection)*

# TRANSNATIONAL EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE TWIN-CITY OF TORNIO–HAPARANDA

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**Abstract:** This article concentrates on everyday life in the twin-city of Tornio–Haparanda, which is situated in the cross-border region of the Tornio River Valley between Finland and Sweden. The Tornio River Valley was divided after the Finnish War of 1809 and, until then, people spoke the same language and shared the same culture and religion. Today, the Tornio River Valley area is a frontier district where the political – or national – boundaries do not coincide with the cultural and linguistic boundaries. The multi-ethnic border zone of the Tornio River Valley is vital area for the hybridisation of cultures as well as for the study of power relations and everyday activities. The towns have many forms of co-operation in different sectors. In my ongoing research I am more interested in the everyday transnationalism which is experienced by the town dwellers.

**Keywords:** transnationalism cross-border region, Tornio River Valley, everyday life

## *Introduction*

During my summer holidays, I have been trying to repair and re-paint my old red and yellow tricycle, which I got when I was two or three years old. This tricycle was the finest toy that I could ever imagine. I remember that I got it as a present when the colleague of my father brought binoculars for my father from Sweden. Binoculars and other similar kinds of devices as well as children's toys were expensive and still seldom seen in the shops of Lapland in 1960s, even though the choices of items were better than just after the war. Binoculars were an important tool in my father's work as a reindeer herder. People who were living near Sweden were used to go shopping there.

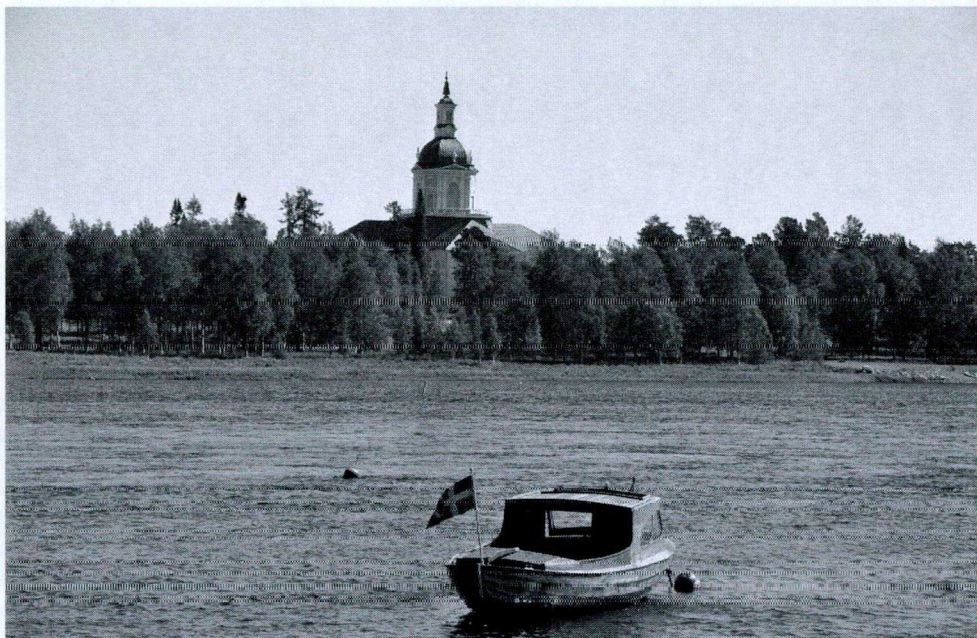
This old toy from my childhood ties me personally to my research area, the twin-city of Tornio–Haparanda<sup>1</sup>, which is situated in the cross-border area between Finland and Sweden. The larger area is called the Tornio River Valley and, according to Ilmar Talve, it is regarded as a traditional cultural area in ethnology. In my research project the focus is on the cultural

<sup>1</sup> For the towns, I use the Finnish name Tornio (it is Torneå in Swedish) and the Swedish name Haparanda (it is Haaparanta in Finnish).



dimensions of everyday uses within a transnational region. In addition to transnational everyday life, my interest is also in identity construction in the twin-city area.<sup>2</sup>

In the Tornio River Valley area, as for all people living in the border regions, the spatial dimension is always present. How they use this border-area depends on, in addition to their own interests and skills, the political systems of the bordering states.<sup>3</sup> The special character of the Tornio River Valley was described by one interviewee as having given the inhabitants wealth and prosperity for decades, even centuries: *"For us, it has been very advantageous to live here on the border. We can take advantage of both countries; we buy all sorts of goods from Sweden, depending on the value of the Swedish crown. Of course, you have to make the most of that. Even today, we go shopping both in Tornio and in Haparanda. We are used to buying some food in Sweden and some food in Finland."*<sup>4</sup>



*Fig. 1* The river Tornio as a border river. Finland and the church of Alatornio are in the background.  
Photo: Helena Ruotsala, July 2010.

In the following, however, I will focus on the historical background of my theme. The current nature of the Tornio River Valley has been shaped by the so-called Finnish War (1808–1809). At the end of the paper, I will introduce the current situation. First, I will make two short references to how I use the concepts in my study. I understand place

<sup>2</sup> This project is funded by the Academy of Finland (SA decision No 13808).

<sup>3</sup> LUNDÉN & ZALAMANS 2001: 33.

<sup>4</sup> (female, born 1945, Sweden).

according to the definition provided by Doreen Massey: in other words, that place should not be understood only in a physical or integrated sense, as a space which is separate and stable. Instead, the concept should be combined with ideas of a meeting place in which connections, relationships, impacts and movements are intertwined.<sup>5</sup> Borders are tools for organizing social space and form part of the process where places and their identities are produced.<sup>6</sup> Transnational refers broadly to those multiple relationships and interactions which link people and institutions across national borders. Transnational can be spatial or geographical in scope and it can refer to networks and relations that cross long distances or penetrate the borders of autonomous units. The central and defining element is that of cultural complexity.<sup>7</sup>

### *The red ribbon drawn up by the Tsar*

Until 1809, Finland was the easternmost province of the Swedish Kingdom. The Finnish War, in which Sweden was defeated and Finland became an autonomous region within the Russian Empire, resulted in the Tornio River Valley becoming a border region. After Sweden conceded Finland to Russia, the Tornio Valley area, which until now had been Finnish speaking, became isolated in a dramatic way. The Russians drew a new border along the River Tornio, not the River Kainuu, which at that time separated the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking populations. The Swedes wanted the border to be further east, along the River Kemijoki. Finally, the Tsar of Russia agreed that the frontier should follow the Tornio and Muonio Rivers, in such a way that the town of Tornio was on the Russian side.<sup>8</sup> The peace negotiations and how the border eventually came into being at this location has been the subject of many narratives. One story tells of Russian peace negotiators who favoured a compromise, another of drunken diplomats who did not know the names of the rivers and had no idea of their relative significance. These stories are also familiar to the present inhabitants of the area, who have mentioned them, for example, in interviews.

Of course losing the war was a problem for Sweden, but, as far as everyday life at the local level is concerned, people had to pay a high price for the way in which the frontier question was resolved. The border is also called the “red ribbon drawn up by the Tsar”. The Finnish War was especially catastrophic in the north, because the loss of people was huge. Also, hunger and illnesses which the soldiers brought with them increased the number of the dead. The defeat at the end of the war was a very traumatic event for Sweden. Sweden had to surrender much of its land and population in the eastern province of its territory. Now, 200 years later, Finland and Sweden regularly meet at the government and parliamentary level and engage in an extensive cultural programme. There were also political contacts between Finland and Russia in 2009 to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the settlement. Several new works had been published in Finland and a number of seminars had taken place in which scholars speculated on what might have happened if Finland did not become subject to Russian rule in 1809. Would Finland have gained its independence

<sup>5</sup> (MASSEY 2002, 51–53)

<sup>6</sup> (MASSEY 1995, 67–68)

<sup>7</sup> (HANNERZ 1998)

<sup>8</sup> (KUVAJA 2010: 354–356; LÄHTEENMÄKI 2004: 30–31.)





*Fig. 2* The joint language school is one example of co-operation between Haparanda and Tornio. The school is situated in Sweden, but half of the pupils are from Finland. Photo: Helena Ruotsala, February 2010.

and, if so, when? And what would be the official status of the Finnish language today in Finland? After all, Swedish used to be the administrative and official language.<sup>9</sup> So far in this discussion the main emphasis has been on political and administrative issues and Finland's entry into the international community as an independent state. Less has been said about the division of the Tornio Valley between the two states and how this has affected people's everyday lives.

The changes introduced as a result of the Finnish War and the new state border are evident on the ethnological atlas of Finland and Finnish culture. The new frontier split villages, congregations and farms, fields and forests, land ownership and families in two. The border cut the ties between kindred and neighbours and tore to shreds the old trading areas. Just as with the Hungarian–Slovakian border at Komáron–Komárno, both on the Finnish and on the Swedish side of the River Tornio there are villages with the same name, such as, for example, Kuttanen–Kuttainen and Karesuvanto–Karesuando. Almost all of the parishes in the Tornio Valley were split in two, thus causing them to lose both territory and inhabitants. Mortality rates, too, were very high at the end of the war. For instance, the dead were buried “in the soil of a foreign country” for years, since the establishing and organising of congregations and the construction of new churches on the other side of the border was a lengthy process.

At that time, the Tornio River Valley was inhabited mostly by Finnish-speaking people – and also a minority of Saami-speaking people. The boundary drawn between the

<sup>9</sup> (See, for example, LAPPALAINEN ET AL 2007.)

two countries dramatically separated the Finnish-speaking area in the river valley. As I already mentioned earlier, the new border was drawn along the River Tornio, not the River Kaakamo, which separated the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking populations. The Tornio River Valley and the area of Northern Norway, where people with Finnish origin (the Kvens) are living, are included in the maps of Finnish Folk Culture, including those by Toivo Vuorela in 1976 and Matti Sarmela in 1994. As late as the 1980s, when I was studying ethnology in courses on Finnish peasant culture, attention was always paid to the phenomena in these areas, too. At the same time, it is interesting that no attention was paid to the culture of our minorities, the Saami and the Roma, because they were not included in the Finnish folk culture.<sup>10</sup>

### *Finnish language and Swedification policy*

The Finnish language has survived – although with a reduced importance – in the Swedish areas of the Tornio River Valley until the present day, although those left on the western side of the frontier suddenly became a small Finnish-speaking minority in the Kingdom of Sweden. From the end of the 1800s, the Finnish-speaking inhabitants on the Swedish side became the subject of a fierce policy of Swedification. The speaking of Finnish was viewed as a threat and Finnish-speakers as a “foreign tribe”. Finnish was rooted out by ruthless means. The Finnish language had a low value and children were later ashamed of it. One person born in a village near Haparanda in the 1950s told that, in the annual report of the school, lists of pupils were published and, if the pupil could speak Finnish, F was written after the name. According to him, it was much finer if the letter F was missing.

The Swedification policy has recently been the subject of many autobiographical writings and has, for example, been mentioned in the film directed by Klaus Härö, *Invisible Elina* (2002), and in the popular novel by Mikael Niemi, *Popular music from Vittula* (2000). Two important reasons for why the Finnish language survived were that it was used as *lingua sacra* in the Laestadian Movement and that it was used in cross-border marriages where the mother came from Finland.

Despite the Swedification policy and the various constraints, contacts and dealings with those left on the other side of the frontier continued to take place. The common language, religion and relatives, along with the old contacts, were the key factors which helped people maintain diverse and active connections. The local inhabitants refused to accept the border as a divisive frontier; rather, they emphasised the common history, language and culture:

*“And that goes for these nations, because this wasn’t the frontier then. Yes, because you were sister, brother to someone on the other side, to many, the contacts were enormous, it wasn’t thought of as a border. [...] But, for us, Finnish is the mother tongue, even though we are proper Swedes, but our mother tongue has been Finnish, yes. But we learn Swedish in school.”<sup>11</sup>*

<sup>10</sup> (RUOTSALA 2010: 178.)

<sup>11</sup> (TYKL/kk/ 2113, male born 1943, Sweden)

Today, the Finnish spoken on the Swedish side of Tornio River Valley is regarded as a language of its own language, not only as a dialect. It even has its own grammar. This "ethnic mobilization" is quite a new phenomenon, which began after the 1980s. Here, however, I do not have the space to focus on that phenomenon.

### *Border crossings*

Overall, people living on both sides of the frontier have used different border strategies and have pursued different cross-border activities at different times. There have also been "border migrants". Marriages across the state borders, or "crossover marriages", and various forms of legal and illegal trade and employment in the other state have continued for a long time. The ties, contacts, relatives, friends and marriages across the border had a strategic meaning during the Second World War, when all inhabitants of Lapland had to be evacuated – a great number of them to Sweden – because of the German troops who left Lapland after the war and destroyed everything in their path. Also after the war, during the so-called re-construction period, this area played an important role because things which were not possible to get in Finland, for example building material, tools and especially coffee, were smuggled over the border. Local knowledge was important for this activity. The binoculars and children's bicycle which I mentioned in the beginning of this article are representative examples of things which were brought from Sweden to Finland. During the post-war period, the Finnish side of the Tornio River Valley was wealthier than other parts of the country. This can be seen, for example, in the building culture.

Smuggling has existed as long as there have been customs duties and other border controls and restrictions systems. Cross-border regulations are essential to smuggling because smugglers exploit the national borders and contest the national laws and systems. According to Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, smuggling is a "subversive economy", by which they mean that smuggling activities "threaten to subvert state institutions by compromising the ability of these institutions to control their self-defined domain".<sup>12</sup> Smuggling is an informal economy, which meant for local people that it was an important survival strategy. It is also an economy in which the power of the state to control the activities and movements of local citizens and to impose morality is changed. Smuggling has not totally disappeared, but today's local articles are snuff (tobacco) and fuel oil.

The most significant changes in people's lives began to be seen later in the 1800s when the state began to regulate trade and the border traffic more than ever and it became forbidden to cross the frontier, other than at certain customs posts. In 1824, those crossing the border were required to show a passport, without which travellers would be forced to return to their own side of the border. Even after the introduction of the passport regulation, it was still common for people to travel across the border and inhabitants were threatened with arrest and confiscation of belongings. At this time also, the means of livelihood began gradually to diversify. Actually later, only during the first and second world wars border crossing was regulated, although only at special sites – in addition to customs – it was allowed. The border crossings have gradually, step-by-step, become less monitored. *"The last step was*

<sup>12</sup> DONNAN – WILSON 1999: 88, 101.

*the European Union; until that time we had to wait and see if the customs officer is waving or not [if he wanted to control the goods or not]*"<sup>13</sup> as one informant told it.

Today, the Tornio River Valley area is a frontier district where the political – or national – boundaries do not coincide with the cultural and linguistic boundaries. The multi-ethnic border zone of the Tornio River Valley gives evidence of being a vital area for the hybridisation of cultures as well as for studying power relations and everyday activities. A Finnish-speaking population arrived after the Middle Ages and joined the indigenous Saami inhabitants already living there. Until the end of the Finnish War in 1809, the Tornio River Valley was a cultural and ecological entity in which the same languages were spoken, membership was in the same evangelical movement, that of Laestadianism, and a living was earned from the same forms of livelihood – fishing, cattle herding and commerce. Furthermore, many of the features of the material and physical culture gave evidence of a long common history and numerous contacts. In considering this cultural area, Ilmar Talve (1979: 407) argues that the Tornio River Valley clearly formed a unique distinctive territory to be set apart the rest of northern Finland. For example, the colourfully painted peasant furniture is one cultural feature of this area and the special storehouses with three floors are another. The River Tornio, which continues upstream as the River Muonio, was a uniting factor holding the area together. The river offered a route along which people, ideas and commercial goods traversed. Also later, according to my interviews, the Tornio River valley was an area where people got in touch with novelties. For example, the youth culture, pop music, clothes and a new way of life "entered" northern Finland from Sweden through the Tornio River Valley. Swedish radio and television programmes and youth magazines were sources of this new way of life. A couple born in 1960s discussed it together in the following manner:

HUSBAND: I think it [Sweden] was in many issues before us.

WIFE: Yes, and we bought stuff there; do you remember, when there was a music shop, people bought all their records there.

HUSBAND: Oh yes, the music. Music came before from there. Yes, so was it.

WIFE: When everything came from there, yes, all the records came from there before they came here to Finland. We also bought all our videos there, too.

[...] We have also hired all our films there first and bought clothes from Sweden because the trends, styles are there always earlier [than in Finland].<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the new national border, life and contacts between the local people on both sides of the Tornio River Valley continued because, in the beginning, the border was only an administrative measure. The effect of the Finnish War on the lives of people living in the border area now began to be also apparent here in the River Tornio Valley. The activities and trading interests of the population in the area, which they had known earlier, began to be monitored and regulated. But on the human level, the place which people had previously shared together was divided into two different places of meaning after the state institutions and symbols in-

<sup>13</sup> (male, born 1949)

<sup>14</sup> (woman, born 1968, male born 1966, Tornio.)



creased and got more power. On both sides of the border people created and shaped their own narratives about the border, narratives which were “about us” and “about them”.<sup>15</sup>

In practical life it can be said that the border still defines a great part of the economic and social relationships in the area. It is visible in the everyday practices of the local inhabitants who live on both sides of the border. It can be regarded as one type of everyday nationalism, or banal nationalism, as Michael Billig calls it.<sup>16</sup> The national ideology is present in the invisible practices and discourses of everyday life. It is important to know the narratives and experiences of the people living on the border because the border as an activity environment can mean different things for different groups. The cultural and linguistic unity does not necessarily or automatically refer to a shared regional identity and shared identity narratives. For example, in Tornio–Haparanda, the differences based on nationality, ethnicity or linguistic group exist and, on the everyday level, the differences are made according to these shared regional identities and identity narratives. These are also questions which are essential in my field work.

### *The twin-city of Tornio–Haparanda today*

Today, Tornio River Valley is a transnational and multi-ethnic borderland, wherein several languages are spoken: Finnish, Swedish, Saami and meänkieli, a local variant of Finnish which is also called “torniolaakson suomi”, the Finnish of the Tornio River Valley; the latter name can be regarded as less political than “meänkieli”, which literally means “our language”. This area is composed of five different groups of people: Tornio Valley inhabitants, Finland Finns, Sweden Swedes, Sweden Finns and Saami, who live in both countries. However, Saami and Finnish have been the indigenous languages here. For example, Haparanda became a retirement community for Finnish emigrants moving from southern Sweden closer to their former native country in order to benefit from the Swedish retirement plan and Finnish language services. Today, a small number of immigrants, refugees, and foreign students are also living in the area.

Tornio–Haparanda has together a population of 32 600 inhabitants. The town of Tornio has 22 400 inhabitants and Haparanda a population of 10 200. Haparanda, in which 74.6 per cent of the inhabitants have a Finnish background,<sup>17</sup> is at present Sweden’s largest Finnish-speaking municipality, in which about 60 per cent are proficient in Finnish, the majority belonging to the older age groups.<sup>18</sup> According to the Swedish Statistical Central Office, the share of Finnish speakers in Haparanda in 2008 was 66 per cent. Tornio also has a very tiny minority of Swedish speakers. Now these two border cities make up a significant and exceptional area because of the close cross-border cooperation and municipal services that exist between them.

Everyday life in the cross-border area of Tornio–Haparanda does not refer only to shopping where the goods and housing are cheaper, but also to a larger and more concrete way of transnational living. Today, approximately 3.7 million private cars, 18 000 buses

<sup>15</sup> (See, for example, PROKKOLA 2005: 180.)

<sup>16</sup> Michael BILLIG (1995: 6)

<sup>17</sup> This group includes those born in Finland, those who have at least one parent born in Finland and those who have at least one grandparent born in Finland.

<sup>18</sup> (SCB 2008/ SR Sisuradio.)



*Fig. 3* The project “On the borders” is building the towns together. Sweden on the left side.  
Photo: Helena Ruotsala, May 2010.

and 10–12 million people cross the border every year. The transnational mobility is broader and people are crossing the border after work, school, and daycare and to go home or pursue free-time activities. For example, you can live in one country and have your children in daycare or in school in the other country.

The municipalities of Tornio in Finland and Haparanda in Sweden have for years, since before joining the European Union, carried out diverse co-operative and joint projects across the national borders. In the beginning of the 1960s administrative co-operation was based on personal contacts, but afterwards co-operation expanded. In the 1970s an agreement for a joint sewage treatment plant and an agreement for free school attendance in complementary schools over the border were established. In the 1980s a joint waste dump was agreed upon. These examples of earlier co-operation are significant on international and national level.

In 1987 these two cities decided to formalise their cooperation by creating the cross-border association, “Provincia Bothniensis”, and in 2006 they acquired a joint name and logo, “Tornio–Haparanda”. The “Provincia Bothniensis” structure has the role of coordinating co-operation on a political level, preparing joint projects and representing the two communities at the international level. This co-operation is equally supported at a regional and national level, but it has no legal status.

Examples of these borderless services during the last decades include co-operation in cultural and leisure-time activities and education. Co-operation and joint investments in



fire and rescue services as well as common health networks and tourist agencies must also be mentioned. These few examples represent a narrow picture of the previous transnational integration, which increased after both countries joined the European Union in 1995.

On the macro level, the three “big” decisions are often emphasised, which are in the background of the current integration of the borders: the steel fabric of Outokumpu in the 1960s, which was founded in Tornio, the membership of Finland and Sweden in EU, which began in 1995, and the founding of the IKEA-warehouse, which is one important symbol of development and investment. The opening of IKEA took place in November 2006 and the store has been successful at attracting customers from as far away as Norway and Russia. Now, thanks to the weak Swedish crown, the economy on the Swedish side is booming. But the changes in currency and its impact on border trade have always been a fact of life in the border area.

As a symbol of the new “borderless Europe”, a development plan called “Rajalla – på Gränsen” (which means “on the border” in both languages) was introduced in 2002. It includes plans to build a joint city-centre and square. Already, based on these examples, it is possible to come to the conclusion that transnational integration in the Tornio River Valley is strong, although it has also met with opposition, especially on the Swedish side of the border. Sweden organised a referendum for the Border-project, but at that time it was rejected by the majority of voters in Haparanda. In spite of the resistance, the first phases of the plan have been realised and the construction work on a concrete twin-city has begun. Now, cross-border co-operation has been recognized and more appreciated, and it is motivated by financial support from EU-sources and local interdependency. It is also important to notice that the “On the border” project has gained both national and international attention and visibility.<sup>19</sup>

In my study, my aim is to focus on the cultural dimensions of everyday practices in a transnational region. I have mentioned some transnational processes at the macro level, but in my field work I will focus on the micro level and try to locate the narratives of border inhabitants. Co-operation between the towns of Tornio and Haparanda has an impact on peoples’ everyday life. Human activities place demands on the co-operation between towns and states and it is important to solve the practical problems which have an impact on the everyday life of the commuters. These are, for example, questions regarding pensions, taxes and commuting over border. In addition to the practical questions, I am also interested in the identity discourses. How transnational is their life and what are the reasons for that? How do they construct their own sense of place and identity? How do they make – if they make – differences between nationalities, ethnicities, languages or cultures? What meanings do people give to or produce along the border? How are these meanings constructed and deconstructed? The narratives and descriptions can be understood as social practices that create and maintain borders. So, by studying the narratives it is possible to study how people continuously make differences between “our own places” and “their places”. Or do they? Anyway, in terms of sports – at least according to the fieldwork I have done until now – people do notice a difference if a Finnish or a Swedish athlete is competing. There

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, HÄKLI 2009: 213–217.

is, however, one interesting exception in sports, namely that of the team HT-Bandy, which is bandy at the highest level in the Swedish league. The sports club is shared by both Tornio and Haparanda, although the arena is situated on the Swedish side of the border. The players are from Finland and Sweden and they are cheering in three languages, in Swedish, Finnish and the local dialect of “Finnish of the Tornio River Valley”.

In my on-going study, my aim and challenge is to find and hear the multiple voices in the narratives on these transnational phenomena that consist of social formations and cultural practices which transcend nation-state borders. Sports comprise one aspect of this transnationalism.

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\* Fieldwork material is archived in the TYKL archive (Archives of the Turku University Ethnological Department): TYKL/kk/2093–2117.

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Are regions representations of the local/regional? What kind of spaces and places does our postmodern age know? What kind of roles do borders play in our days in shaping local and individual identity? What kind of theoretical and methodological problems occur in ethnocartography? Can we use the maps of ethnographic atlases in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how?

In ethnography the focus of interest in the last decades has been shifted from the traditional peasant culture to other problems relating society, culture and space. And maps, mental maps, virtual places, or non-places have become more relevant.

I believe that traditional ethnographic atlases are still very important. We have to use the great amount of knowledge accumulated in the atlas-collections. But we have to find out the appropriate and modern ways of analysis. The digitalized world offers new approaches – parallel with the horizontal analysis vertical, structural ones-, which help to interpret the cultural phenomena in context.

The papers of the 16<sup>th</sup> Conference of the SIEF's International Ethnocartography Network, held in Szeged (Hungary) in 2010 have brought some new ideas in this field.

Gábor BARNA

Editor: Gábor BARNA (Szeged) is the head of the working group SIEF's International Ethnocartography Network.

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